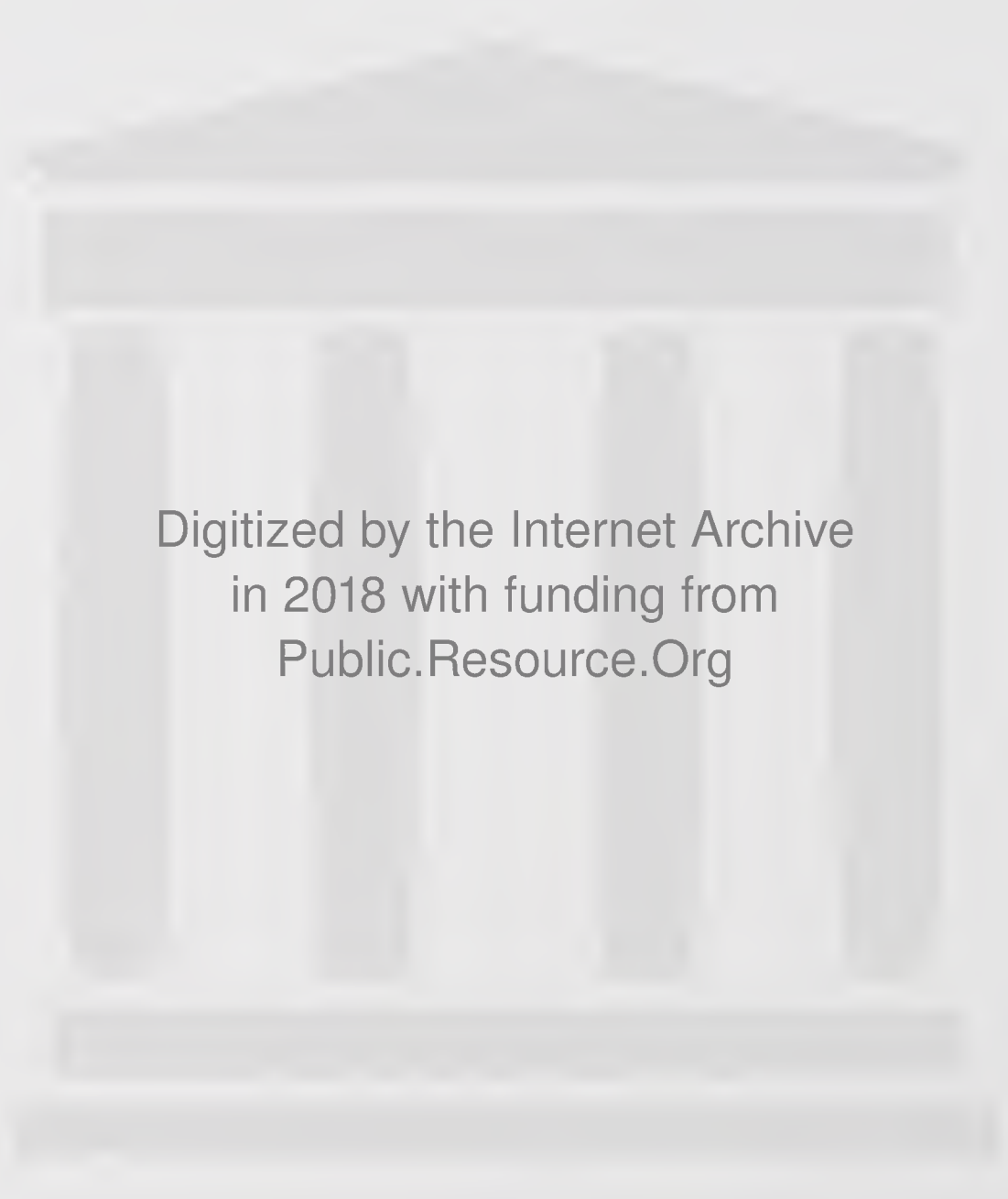


# INDIA: BEFORE AND AFTER THE MUTINY

P. C. Ray







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# **INDIA : BEFORE AND AFTER THE MUTINY**

**P.C. RAY**



**PUBLICATIONS DIVISION  
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

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## A BRIEF BACKGROUND

Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, one of the great pioneers of scientific research in modern India, is considered Father of Indian Chemistry. Known for his path-breaking research in Industrial Chemistry, he earned his D.sc. from Edinburgh University in 1887. He was an indefatigable patriot with a saintly self-less character.

Ray was born in 1861. As a young under-graduate student of Edinburgh University in 1885, Ray sent his essay *India: Before and After the Mutiny* for a competition organised by the University. Though considered the best entry, the essay was not awarded for obvious reasons. The essay shows the young talent's maturity and patriotism. Ray somehow got it published in a book form in 1886.

He sent a copy to John Bright, a member of the British Parliament. Mr. Bright was amazed at the political knowledge and maturity of the Indian student. He replied immediately with immense sympathy, gave Ray liberty to use his letter in any way he desired. Prafulla Chandra sent this letter to some British newspapers with the caption *Letter of John Bright to an Indian student*. This was published in newspapers like London Times which made Prafulla Chandra famous overnight. This was also published in India through Reuter.

This famous essay was republished by Rammohun Library & Free Reading Room in 1994, as a tribute on the 50th death Anniversary of Acharya P.C. Ray. Prof. Hirendranath Mukharjee, well-known historian and parliamentarian, wrote foreward for that edition.

Acharya Prafulla Chandra was closely associated with Rammohun Library & Free Reading Room. This institution was established in 1904 by some celebrities to perpetuate the memory of Raja Rammohun Roy, the torch-bearer of Indian Renaissance in the mid-nineteenth century. This is a unique institution, 'bearing the torch of reason and knowledge which Raja Rammohun Roy had endeavoured to inculcate in the minds of his countrymen for their enlightenment and uplifting.' Acharya J.C. Bose was President of this Institution for 20 years till his death. Acharya P.C. Ray was Vice-President of the institution from 1911 and became President in 1938 and held the post till his death in 1944.

Publications Division is publishing this work as a tribute to the great visionary, a pioneering researcher and one of the architects of modern India.





Natulla Panda D.

## FOREWORD TO THE RAMMOHAN LIBRARY EDITION

It is gratifying that Rammohun Library has taken the long needed initiative to bring out in a reprint, the brochure written as long ago as in 1885 by “An Indian student” of Edinburgh University on “India Before and After the Mutiny”. Though not awarded the prize for which this very substantial essay was offered, it had qualities extraordinary for a young hardly twenty four years old researcher in chemistry and it may well be that the writer’s nationality was, in the context of the time in Great Britain, responsible for the prize being given to some other competitor. The author of this essay which even after a hundred and eight years or more should be read with pleasure and profit was none other than Prafulla Chandra Ray, one of the great pioneers of scientific research in modern India, an indefatigable patriot and saintly character, whom all India has hailed and will continue to hail as Acharya, in line with the unforgettable preceptors of the people of our ancient land and yet a shining representative of the highest scientific and humanist thought of modern times.

The decade 1861-1870 in our country witnessed the birth of remarkable personalities who would win accolades in any company. One does not need to prepare a full list, but some names come immediately to mind. Rabindranath Tagore, Prafulla Chandra Ray, Motilal Nehru, Madan Mohan Malaviya were born in 1861; Swami Vivekananda in 1863; Asutosh Mookerjee in 1864; Lala Lajpat Rai in 1865; Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1866; Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi in 1869; Chittaranjan Das and Muhammad Ali in 1870. This is being written from memory and forgiveness is requested if there is some slight error. The point, however, is that in spite of “the shabby and tame atmosphere” of British rule in India, our mother country gave birth to such children. It is the fecundity of her genius that has sustained Mother India through ages of trial and torment.

“India Before and After the Mutiny” was after all no more than an unusually gifted student’s essay, but it will repay perusal, even after such a lapse of time. It bespeaks the writer’s love of country and love of learning and the width of mind that impelled a



student of chemistry to write on a historical theme. It is witness also to young Prafulla Chandra's desire to hold aloft the prestige of his country by competing on unequal terms with alumni of Edinburgh University with perhaps inbuilt advantages that Ray never had. For one in his early twenties, the writing is scholarly, thoughtful and mature, and even today is well worth reading. Some may choose to find loopholes in what was written over a hundred years ago. But I am sure our readers will discover in this work a hitherto unknown aspect of the great scientist-patriot's multifarious legacy.

What strikes me is the ease with which Ray in Edinburgh in 1885 has followed as much of an Indian nationalism-oriented line of study on a sensitive theme as was possible at that time and its intellectual and political constraints. His approach differs, thus, from similar studies by most scholars of his time and subsequently. He does not withhold admiration for such liberal Britishers as John Bright, for instance, but even as he writes with a certain, nearly obligatory, sobriety, his mental attitude, conscious of the sorrows of subjection and the inequities and wrongs inflicted by imperialism, can always be discerned. If perhaps he had written differently and had chosen to bend and produce something like a later compilation (by an Indian intellectual) "England's work in India"-which the British Government prescribed as compulsory study in our high schools-Ray might well have won the University prize ! Later in life, his scientific (and other public-spirited) work was of such impressive quality that in spite of his being an anti-establishment figure, he was conferred a C.I.E. and a Knighthood. These titles were a cross he had to bear, but to his people he became through sustained service in many fields, a legend in his lifetime. Together with Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose and Acharya Brajendranath Seal, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray formed, as it were a magnificent triad who have shed light on the history of our time.

If the pigmentation of his skin was white, he would long ago have been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. There was no dearth of academic honours for him but the Royal Society had barred its doors. For Ray, the denial was a footling little matter. His own scientific research, including a pioneer and most valuable "History of Hindu Chemistry", the foundation by him of what came to be known as the Indian School of Chemistry, his human and



intellectual links with direct disciples like Meghnad Saha, Satyendranath Bose, Jnan Chandra Ghosh, Jnanendranath Mookherjee, Nikhil Ranjan Sen, H. K. Sen, P. N. Ghosh and others who need not be named-and concurrently with scholarly work his total absorption in social welfare work and association, to the extent possible, with the patriotic movement of his time earned him a position of the greatest respect. Like Acharya Jagadish Chandra he also was a devotee of Bengali literature, both being near and dear to Rabindranath Tagore. Thus, institutions like Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and Rammohun Library could have the good fortune of receiving all support from such great figures.

Acharya Ray never married. He lived a life of utter simplicity. But austerity did not turn him into a grave, unsmiling person. To those who knew him, he was cheerfulness personified. To his pupils he was not a mere teacher but a personal friend, guide and philosopher. For many decades, he lived in the University Science College itself, working whenever he could in the laboratories, his bare, simple living quarters open to all any time and especially to his students. It was natural thus, that when he had to come forward for flood relief or such philanthropic work he would have, as his immediate lieutenants young national leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and eminent scientific pupil-colleagues like Meghnad Saha. This multifaceted genius had his own special ideas about rural reconstruction and for many decades he was a pillar of support for Mahatma Gandhi in the latter's campaign for Khadi-hand-spun, hand-woven cloth being for some time the uniform for patriots, "the livery of freedom" as Jawaharlal Nehru put it, and also the symbol of non-exploitative, self-reliant rural economy for a country like ours.

With a burning social conscience and a passion for appropriate economic development, he gave his thought endlessly to tasks of economic growth. He blamed the educated Bengalis' allergy towards industry and commerce, and wrote long ago a basic discourse entitled "Misuse of the Bengali brain", where he regretted this default and to set an example, founded a celebrated institution which became a national symbol: Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical works. He got his own pupils like Satish Chandra Dasgupta and the brilliant writer Rajshekhar Basu to work in that firm which long represented what is known as the Swadeshi spirit.

He was no 'commercialist', of course. A patriot-philanthropist, his mind worked at various levels. He would, as one of the country's greatest scientists, stand by Asutosh Mookherjee in the early twenties, defending postgraduate research in Calcutta University and declaring when officialdom threatened it, that the university stood for "Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always !" For decades he gave all the money he earned from the University back into its coffers. Almost literally he had no possession to speak of and gave everything away to his people. He had a wide awake mind, responsive to national and international currents. A humanist above all, wedded to no particular ideology, he had no hesitation, as I know from personal experience, to bless and help progressive causes. When, after the Hitler attack on the USSR (June 1941), the friends of the Soviet Union formed a body of their own, Acharya Ray gave them his best wishes. Whenever the call of his country came, this great scientist who might have preferred his ivory tower, always answered with all the strength of his mighty heart.

This foreword has gone on too long already. I must conclude. Rammohun Library has performed its pious obligation to a great memory by reprinting this piece of early writing by Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray. I congratulate the present day officebearers of Rammohun Library for having fished out the brochure from Edinburgh and made it available to our people. How I wish my teacher Charu Chandra Bhattacharya who was so close to Rabindranath Tagore and Acharya Prafulla Chandra and was also for quite a long time involved in work for Rammohun Library, could be with us to see this publication! Meanwhile, let me hail this brochure as a reminder of the Scriptural injunction:

Let us praise our famous men.' Among our 'famous men' and one of the truly pre-eminent, was Prafulla Chandra Ray. May his shadow never grow less!

Calcutta  
November 4, 1994

— Hirendranath Mukerjee



## PREFACE TO THE RAMMOHAN LIBRARY EDITION

Sir P. C. Ray is internationally famous as a chemist, but in India he is regarded with great respect as a patriot and a social reformer also. He used to keep a few rupees only out of his princely salary for himself and donated the rest to public uses and for helping the poor students. His scientific research was mainly meant for the advancement of his country.

This is evident in one of his letters to Mrs. C. R. Das where he wrote, "I can assure you, however, dear sister, that in serving my favourite science. I have only one idea in my mind, namely, that through her I should serve my country".

He used to say, "India must wake up, shake off her degradation, put life and heart into every class of her people, elevate her women and depressed classes and remove the galling restrictions of caste and all social inequalities."

He was born and died in India under the British rule. He had the bitter experience of the colonial brutality and deprivation. This is quite evident even in his first book written at the age of 24 while he was a student in Edinburgh University. From the very first book we can have the back and bone of his character.

While he was a student of B.A. Class in Metropolitan Institution (now Vidyasagar College), he appeared secretly in the examination for Gilchrist scholarship of the Edinburgh University and became successful. It created a sensation and he was commended highly in the paper "Hindu Patriot" by Krishnadas Pal. He sailed for London in Sept., 1882 and reached Edinburgh in mid October.

In 1885, Sir Stafford Northcote, the then Vice-Chancellor of Edinburgh University and ex-Secretary of State of India declared a prize for an essay on "India Before and after the Mutiny". P.C. Ray decided to participate in the competition and began to study the economical, historical and political conditions of India. It will be evident from this long Essay how much time and attention he dedicated in this effort.

The judges considered the essay as the best but for obvious reasons P.C. Ray was not awarded the prize. It is quite astonishing that at this age P.C. Ray showed his maturity in politics and patriotism. The judges were quite amazed. One of the Examiners Prof. Muir publicly expressed his adoration in a meeting of the university students.

However, P.C. Ray somehow got it published in a book-form with an appeal for freedom of India. He sent a copy to John Bright, the famous member of the British Parliament. Mr Bright was amazed at the political knowledge and sharp argument of the Indian student. Mr. Bright replied immediately with full sympathy, gave him full liberty to use his letter in any way Prafulla Chandra desired. Prafulla Chandra sent this letter to British newspapers with the caption "Letter of John Bright to an Indian student." This was published in newspaper like London Times which made Prafulla Chandra famous overnight. This was also published in India through Reuter.

After this publication, P.C. Ray made many contributions in science and social service, but this book was never published in India. Of late it has come to light that some enthusiastic followers of Sir P. C. Ray reprinted this book which was might have been circulated within limited sphere.

Since 1905 Acharya Prafulla Chandra was closely associated with the Rammohun Library & Free Reading Room, a historic memorial of Raja Rammohun Roy, the Father of modern India. For a long time Acharya J. C. Bose was the real architect of this Institution. He was President of this Institution for 20 years till his death. After that, Acharya P. C. Ray became the President of Rammohun Library and Free Reading Room from 1938 till his death in 1944. He was however the Vice-President from 1911.

As a mark of respect to Acharya Prafulla Chandra in 50th anniversary of his death, the Library has decided to publish the Indian Edition of his first historic book "India Before and After the Mutiny". This book was first published in 1886 in Edinburgh and after 108 years Indian public will get this Indian Edition in a befitting manner. This will reveal once again the patriotic character of Acharya Ray in the independent India. Hope, it will get a good response from the readers throughout the world.



We are grateful to Prof. Hirendranath Mukherjee, the famous historian, politician and parliamentarian for favouring us with his valuable foreword written for this book.

We are reprinting the book as it was in the first edition of 1886 with necessary modifications required for the present-day press. The book was written with such small letters which at least the elderly people will find difficult to read. So we have got it printed in the modern fashion.

In the first edition, for obvious reasons, Acharya Prafulla Chandra did not publish the book in his own name. Instead, it was presented as a publication by "An Indian Student." The Book now in print is however being published in the name of P. C. Ray.

We are grateful to our General Secretary Sri Ramdulal Bhattacharya for finding out this book from the valuable collections of Sir P.C. Ray gifted to this Library and to the Executive Committee for their approval for its reprinting.

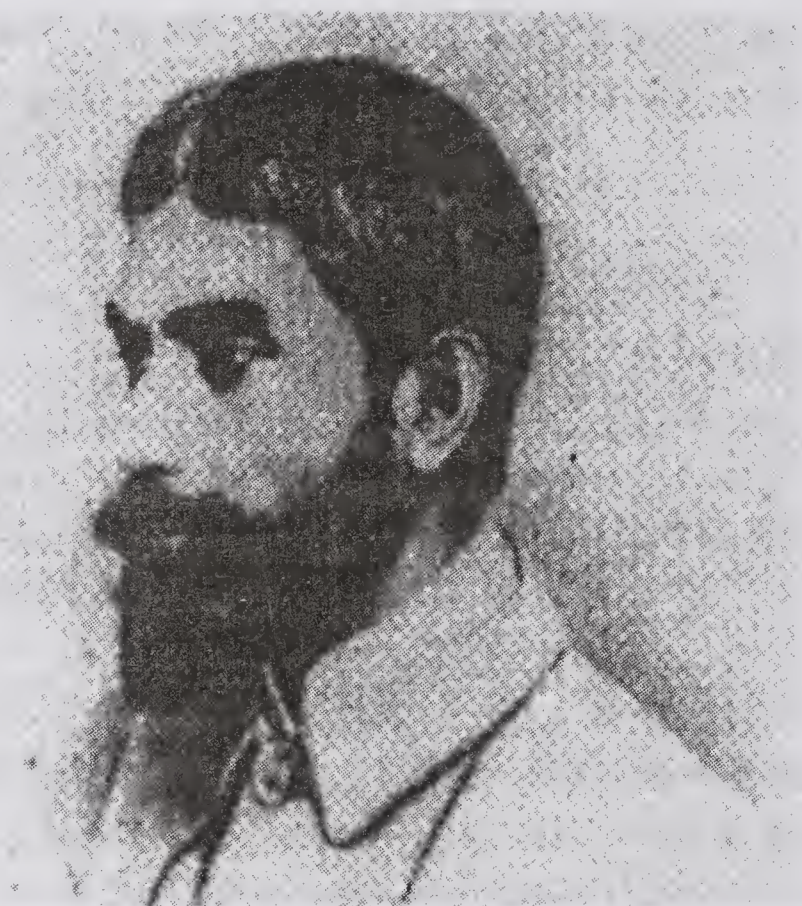
We also take this opportunity to convey our heartfelt thanks to Sri Siba Prasad Biswas of London for procuring xerox copies of two missing pages of the book from the British Library, London and to Sri Dibakar Sen of J.C. Bose Unit of Museum of Bose Institute, Calcutta for helping us with several photographs of different ages of Sir P.C. Ray for printing in this book.

Our thanks are also due to Shri Priyabrata Sengupta, Dr. Shibani Roy, Sri Gobinda Bhattacharya, Sri Sakti Samanta, Sri Debkumar Basu and the members of our library staff for their kind help in getting the work through the press.

We feel proud and privileged to publish the pioneer work of one of our much respected presidents. At the same time, we are aware of our limitations. Hope, the readers and well-wishers will condone our shortcomings and appreciate our endeavour.

1-1-1995  
Rammohun Library

— Saroj Mohan Mitra  
President



PROF. P. C. RAY

AT THE TIME OF HIS RESEARCH ON MERCUROUS NITRITE IN THE  
PRESIDENCY COLLEGE LABORATORY



# INDIA : BEFORE AND AFTER THE MUTINY

*By*  
AN INDIAN STUDENT

“The truth as to India cannot too soon be understood.”  
— W.E. Gladstone

*I appeal to you on behalf of that people. I have besought your mercy and your justice for many a year past; and if I speak to you earnestly now, it is because the object for which I plead is dear to my heart. Is it not possible to touch a chord in the hearts of Englishmen, to raise them to a sense of the miseries inflicted on that unhappy country by the crimes and the blunders of our rulers here? If you have steeled your hearts against the Natives, if nothing can stir you to sympathy with their miseries, at least have pity on your own countrymen. Rely upon it, the state of things which now exists in India must, before long, become most serious.*

—JOHN BRIGHT

Member of British Parliament



## *TO THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY*

GENTLEMEN,

These pages were written in competition for the prize offered by the Lord Rector for the best Essay on "India Before and After the Mutiny." And although this Essay was not the successful one, \* I offer it to your kind notice in the hope that it may create, in however slight a degree, an interest in India.

No one is more conscious than myself of the numerous blemishes and imperfections of the Essay. I wish it had fallen to abler hands to represent the Indian students in the competition. Not only was my ability in every way inadequate to the task to which I applied myself, but I could not devote to it even a fraction of the time which the subject demanded. It was written at intervals snatched from a short and busy session, and on the eve of an engagement incident to student-life, the call of which, though not more sacred, was none the less importunate. If I should fail to produce conviction, my language is likely to appear in many places ungracious. Indeed, I am not without misgivings, and even anxiety, lest I should have marred an opportunity—a rare opportunity—by my imperfect treatment of the subject. But one thing has emboldened me to appear before you. I have often noticed, and not without secret encouragement, that it is comparatively an easy task to enlist your sympathy. Several circumstances, it appears to me, have of late years tended to increase an interest in Indian affairs. As Lord Rector of a sister University, Mr. John Bright—a name never pronounced by an Indian otherwise than with feelings of profound gratitude and veneration—took occasion to inculcate on his constituents the necessity of bestowing particular attention upon Indian questions, on the ground that the students of to-day make the nation of tomorrow. "Our university is, and must be, a great seminary of politicians. Here are assembled, to prepare themselves for life, the young men from whom the legislators and statesmen of the next age must be taken. In this place they will

\*I may state here that it was one of the two essays adjudged as "proxime accesserunt."

begin to form the views and opinions which will determine their political career. During the years they spend here and through influences that operate here—perhaps not in the lecture-room, but at any rate in the meetings of friends or in the Union—their preparation for political life is made.:

The lamentable condition of India at present is due to England's culpable neglect of, and gross apathy to the affairs of that Empire. England has hitherto failed—grievously failed—in the discharge of her sacred duties to India. It is to you, the rising generation of Great Britain and Ireland that we look for the inauguration of a more just, generous, and humane policy as to India—a policy which will not seek a justification in such platitudes as “inevitable course” “non-possumus,” “eternal fitness of things;” but one whose sole issue will be a closer union between India and England. In you are centred all our hopes. The time is near at hand when you may be called upon to assume civic functions, and to exercise a potent influence in the affairs of the Empire over which the sun never sets, and of which we glory in being citizens. Tomorrow you will be arbiters of the destinies of 250 millions of human beings, your own fellow-subjects. We fervently hope your advent to power will be a death-knell to the existing un-English regime, and the dawn of a brighter and happier era for India.

Sincerely yours,

AN INDIAN STUDENT

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I would here express my grateful thanks to fellow-students from India for their kind help in getting the work through the press.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that as the Essay had to be sent in anonymously the editorial “we” and its inflections were used throughout as they would have been by an English student.

THE UNIVERSITY:  
CHEMICAL LABORATORY,  
March 22, 1886.

\*These words, though not originally spoken of our university are yet peculiarly appropriate. (See Prof. Seeley's “Lectures and Essays,” P. 297)



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(Lord Clive—Lord Mayo : 1756-1871)

*In the Shades of the Academic of Modern Athens.*

*“Adjecere bonæ paullo plus artis Atheæ,  
Scilicet ut vellem curvo dinoscere rectum  
Atque inter silvas Academi quærere verum.”*

Hol., Ep. II. 2.43.45

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# INDIA : BEFORE AND AFTER THE MUTINY

## PART FIRST

### CHAPTER I

*Periculosae plenum opus alae  
Tractas, et incedis per ignes  
suppositos cineri doloso.*

— Hor.

General plan  
of the Essay  
laid down.

IN the first few pages of this Essay we propose to take a very hasty glance at the most important events from the first footing of the English in India to the commencement of the rule of Lord William Bentinck a rule which marks an important era in the history of British India. In doing this, although we shall be guilty of no slight digression, still we shall greatly facilitate the proper understanding of the subsequent portion. We shall, then, devote especial attention to those administrations in which schemes for the material and moral progress of the land have been initiated, matured, or carried out, and which have thus helped to make India the India of today. Part second of our subject will be reserved exclusively for a review of the economical, intellectual, and moral condition of India.

Formation of the Empire in Asia. A mercantile corporation, to which the East India Company, 1599. had been granted a charter by Queen Elizabeth to trade with the Gorgeous East, found itself compelled by the irresistible force of circumstances to take part in the internecine discords which were then convulsing India.

The Company's clerk, while mindful of his ledger and bill of lading, could not afford to be a passive and unconcerned spectator of all that was going on around him. He found it to his advantage to take practical lessons in treaty-making, negotiations-in fine, in all branches of diplomacy.

It was Dupleix who had first shown how, out of raw native *materiel*, brilliant soldiers could be evolved, when drilled and disciplined after the European model. Robert Clive, who had been "shipped off" by his parents "to make a fortune or to die of a fever at Madras," was not slow in profiting by the example of the astute and sagacious Frenchman. It was owing to the genius of this "heaven-born" general, no less to the ungrateful treatment of the French-Indian generals at home, that the cause of the British began to wax, that of the French to wane.

Robert Clive appears on the scene.

Quarrels with the French in Madras, 1748-56.

The massacre of "the Black Hole" called for immediate retribution. Madras now for a time falls out of sight and out of mind. As if by the waving of a magician's wand, the scene is at once transferred to the delta of the Ganges. In the course of five years a happy combination of circumstances, aided by tact, shrewdness, military talents, and fertility of resources, made Clive the virtual autocrat of Bengal; his will the law, his behest the guide of the Nawab of Bengal.

1756.

Clive leaves Madras for Bengal.

On the 25th of February 1760, Clive embarked for his native land. At home, honours, if not emoluments, were showered upon him. When Clive's iron hand was removed, Bengal became the wretched victim of a degree of tyranny and anarchy unparalleled in her annals. The Members of Council set up one puppet nabob after another on the musnad, a heavy sum or "gratuity" being exacted from each as the price of British support. To take one instance: when Meer Cassim was made subador, on the forced abdication of the imbecile Meer Jaffer, £ 200,000 was allotted for

Evil days for Bengal.



the “services” of the Council of which £ 90,000 fell to the shares of Messers Holwell and Vansittart; the rest being divided among the lesser satellites. Mill estimates the totals of private “donations” received from the Moorshedabad treasury at six millions sterling. \* When the heads of departments became monsters of iniquity, it was scarcely to be expected that the inferior officers of the Company should escape contagion. Peculation and corruption in all their varied ramifications reigned supreme. The sufferings of the masses became intolerable. It was at this period that Burke’s “birds of prey and passage,”

Rich in the gems of India’s gaudy zone, And  
plunder, piled from kingdoms not their own,

\* \* \* \* \*

Could stamp disgrace on man’s polluted name,  
And barter, with their gold, eternal shame;

The Mahommedan historian, finding it of no avail to appeal to any earthly tribunal, offers his prayer to heaven: “Oh God! come to the help of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions which they suffer.”

Lord Clive, though he had received very “shabby” treatment from the Court of Directors, was prevailed upon to accept the views of the Bengal Government once more. It was thought that he, and he alone, could set matters right. On his arrival at Calcutta he applied himself vigorously to his task. The hero of Arcot and Plassey had, however, almost to succumb to a combination of his own countrymen, to whose avarice and rapacity he had attempted to set a limit.

Clive’s second administration was signalised by an event of great political consequence, the acquisition of the dewany (i.e., the collectorship of the revenues

Clive’s  
second  
adminis-  
tration,  
1765-7

12th Aug.  
1765.

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\* “History of British India,” vol. iii., pp. 258-60.

of Bengal and Behar) from the Emperor of Delhi. The British power was thus formally recognised. The Nawab of Moorshedabad now sank into a mere pensioner.

Ill-health compelled Clive to leave again for England after a residence in India of twenty-two months, a period to which he could look back with legitimate pride. He had tried his best to save Bengal from the greed of the Company's servants; but in this noble attempt he had raised up for himself a host of enemies, who pursued him with implacable hatred. A parliamentary investigation into his conduct was loudly demanded. The Attorney-General-Lord Thurlow-joined in the cry. The whole history of Clive's dealings and transactions with Meer Jaffer, both before and after the battle of Plassey, was subjected to a severe scrutiny. We should not be surprised if the founder of our Indian Empire failed to emerge unscathed out of such a fiery ordeal. Clive was no less acquainted with human nature than with the arts of war and diplomacy. He knew its weak points, and at once appealed to them. "When I remember entering the treasury of Moorshedabad," he urged in self-defence, "with heaps of gold and silver to the right hand and to the left, and these covered with jewels, I stand astonished at my own moderation." The Commons were overpowered. It required no great stretch of imagination in them to realise that Lord Clive had founded an empire,

Impeachment  
of Lord  
Clive.

"Bequeathing it as a rich legacy  
Unto their issue."

At length a resolution was passed to the effect that, although Lord Clive had been guilty of several irregular and unjustifiable acts, he had at the same time rendered meritorious services to his country.

In 1773 an Act was passed by Parliament for the better management of Indian affairs, one of its main



The  
Regulation  
Act, 1773.

provisions being that the Governor of Bengal should be appointed Governor-General of all the British-Indian possessions on a salary of £ 25,000 a year, with four councillors at £ 8000 each to assist him. "At the same time a Crown Court was established in Calcutta to administer English law on the model of the courts at Westminster, with a Chief-Justice at £ 8000 and three puisne judges at £ 6000 a year."\*

Under the new constitution, Warren Hastings, who had for years sat at the feet of Clive, was appointed the first Governor-General.

Warren  
Hastings,  
1772-82

While Lord Clive laid the foundation of the Indian Empire, Hastings contributed to its consolidation. The new Governor-General had to encounter a serious difficulty at the very outset of his administration. The exchequer of the Company at Calcutta had become empty, whilst his Leadenhall-street masters began to importune him for remittances. "A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by conscientious scruples, speedily discovered several modes of removing the financial embarrassments of the government. "# The enormities of which he was guilty—the principal part he played in the extermination of the brave but innocent Rohillas; his spoliation of the princesses of Oude ; his treatment of Chyte Singh, of Benares ; his secret compact with Sir Elijah Impey for procuring the "judicial murder" of Nuncomar—these were some of the leading counts in the terrible indictment preferred against him by the greatest orator of England, and the best and most disinterested friend of India.

Impeachment  
of Warren  
Hastings,  
1788-95

With the impeachment itself we have very little to do here. We must, however, advert for a moment to the healthy effect it produced on the public mind: it struck terror into the heart of future delinquents; it proved to the world that no one would henceforth

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\*Marshman's "History of India," vol. i., p. 340

#Macaulary—"Warreen Hastings."

be allowed to trample under foot the sacred rights of the Asiatics.\* Effects of the impeachment.

The gross abuses and scandals, as divulged during the trials of Hastings, Impey, Stockdale, and others, led Fox,# well known as coadjutor of Burke. and then a powerful member, or rather the head, of the coalition ministry, to bring in a bill for placing the government of India on a better footing. Broadly speaking, Fox's plan anticipated the measure which was carried out three-quarters of a century later—that of the transfer of the government of India to the Crown. Dark and sinister influences, mysterious in their working, were instrumental in wrecking the bill, and with it the ministry. Fox's India Bill, 1783.

Pitt's bill established the system of double government. The President of the Board of Control, always a member of the cabinet for the time being, as the name implies, was to exercise controlling powers over the Court of Directors. Mr Dundas, as first incumbent of this office, for sixteen years wielded an influence over the destinies of the Indians, equalled only perhaps by that of Sir Charles Wood, the late Lord Halifax. Pitt's rival Bill.  
  
Dundas and Sir C. Wood.

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*\*It remains yet to be seen how far Sir James Stephen will succeed in his attempt at apotheosising his great hero, (See preface to "the Trial of Nuncomar, and the Story of Sir Elijah Impey.")*

*# There is an apparent discrepancy of dates. What we meant was that in the minds of the managers of the impeachment the whole history of oppression was known earlier. The following extract will at once bear it out, and show Burke's disinterested zeal: "I do not know I can justify my self in the liberty I take with you, but confiding in your humanity and condescension, I beg, if you have leisure for it, you would be so kind as to breakfast with me, and assist me with your opinion and advice on the Bengal Bill. The natives of the East, to whose literature you have done so much justice, are particularly under your protection for their rights" (1781). BURKE to Jones; TEIGNMOUTH'S "Life of Sir W. Jones," vol. i.p. 310.*



## CHAPTER II

Lord  
Cornwallis  
1786-93.

Qualifica-  
tions for  
Governor-  
General-  
ship.

IN appointing Lord Cornwallis to the Governor-Generalship, the Pitt ministry departed from a precedent. Hitherto, the head of the Indian government had been chosen from among the ablest officers of the Company, who, by dint of their abilities and perseverance, had won their way to the foremost rank. Local experience was considered as the most important qualification for the post. There were, however, great objections to the existing regime. "The advantage arising from the knowledge of the people and the country, however great, was found to be over-balanced by the trammels of local associations, and the difficulty of exercising due control over those who had been previously in the position of equals."\* Such a ruler might be apt to subordinate public good to private considerations in the disposal of patronage. A peer of exalted rank, who had already made his mark in the political world, was thought to be the most suitable person for the onerous post. Again, one of the duties of this high functionary was, and still is, the reception of crowned heads and turbaned nobles in durbars, for which grace, elegance, and suavity of manner are above all other things requisite. These are generally supposed to be the attributes more of a patrician than of a plebeian.

Reform of  
abuses.

In Lord Cornwallis we recognise the first Governor-General of India who made the conscientious discharge of duties towards the people committed to his charge his sole guiding principle. We have seen Lord Clive had only met with partial, if any, success in his attempt to correct the abuses and corruption which then pervaded the whole machinery of the Company's

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\* Marshman.

government. These were the days of “small salaries and large perquisites.” There was a tacit, almost explicit, understanding that the servants of the Company were at liberty to help themselves at the expense of the helpless masses. Lord Cornwallis struck at the very root of the evil. He gave adequate pay and demanded in turn abstention from corrupt practices. The great drawback of his reforms in this direction was the systematic exclusion of the children of the soil from all posts— all but the most menial and degrading. It was reserved for a more beneficent ruler to apply partial remedy to this evil. (See under Bentinck).

Natives of India ostracised from all posts of honour and responsibility.

Lord Cornwallis’ attention was soon distracted from all these useful reforms by the breaking out of hostilities with Tipou, son of the celebrated Hyder Ali. The folly and rapacity of the Madras government was chiefly instrumental in bringing about this war.

War with Tipou.

Lord Cornwallis was at heart a soldier. The humiliation, if any, for the surrender at York town was made up for by the signal victory at Seringapattam. We have now learned to honour Washington as the purest patriot that ever drew breath. \* His bust now occupies a place in the great British national mausoleum, side by side with that of his unfortunate rival, Burgoyne. In this world the righteousness or otherwise of a cause is often judged by its measure of success. To this day, Hyder and his son Tipou stand condemned as foul tyrants, whom it was our duty to crush ; though the philosopher-historian of India has done some justice to their memories. # This is, however, not the place for apostrophizing.

An apostrophe.

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\*“When I first read, in detail, the ‘Life of Washington,’ I was profoundly impressed with the moral elevation and greatness of his character; and I found myself at a loss to name among the statesmen of any age or country many, or possibly any, who could be his rival.” -Mr. GLADSTONE’S Letter to Mr. Smalley, London Correspondent of “New York tribune.”

# Mill



[Here was given a short account of the Zemindary System, and the Permanent Settlement of 1793. We omit this portion, as being of little interest to our present readers.]

Sir John  
Shore,  
afterwards  
Lord  
Teignmouth.  
1793-98

The success of the “permanent settlement” was largely due to the wide experience and marked abilities of a civilian who succeeded Lord Cornwallis in the Governor-Generalship, and in whose favour, as in that of Lord Lawrence in our own days, the charmed conventionality referred to above had been broken through.

Divide et  
impera.

One fact in connection with the Mysore war is worthy of note. It was the first, but by no means the last, instance in which the familiar adage “divide et impera” was applied with signal success in India. The Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marhattas were secured as “allies,” on condition that they should be sharers of the territories and indemnity to be extorted from Tipou.\* ‘Little did they know that the policy towards the consummation of which they were obligingly lending such willing hands, would at no distant future recoil upon themselves with terrible effect.

India-for-  
English-  
men a  
theory  
strikes root.

The words which occur at the end of Lord Cornwallis’ Minute on the Permanent Settlement are ominous.# When we find even a humane and conscientious ruler holding in all simplicity the view that the Indian provinces are to be governed “with an eye exclusively to the ‘credit and the interests of the governing power,’”## a view shared in common with

\*“The tripartite treaty had provided that the territories conquered by the joint exertions of the allies should be equally divided among them ..... Lord Cornwallis was determined to adhere to the original compact with scrupulous fidelity, and made over third of the indemnity (= £ 1,500,000) as well as territory to each of the confederates, annexing another third, of the value of 40 lacs of rupees a year, to the dominions of the Company.”—MARSHMAN’S History of India, “vol. II, P.25.

# “The real value of Bengal and Behar to Britain depends on the continuance of its ability to furnish a large annual investment to Europe, to assist in providing an investment for China and to supply the pressing wants of other provinces.”

## Marshman

the majority of his countrymen, it is worth while to consider for a moment to what extent our dealings with India have been coloured by it. We now repudiate with horror the very idea of ever having exacted, or ever having to exact, a tribute in any shape from the Eastern dependency. The huge and complicated machinery, with whose help and agency we govern India, could not be reared in a day. But many dangerous principles which found favour with us before the days of the Mutiny have by no means disappeared. Lurking under a glossy exterior they escape our notice, but nevertheless they do exist.

Lord Wellesley, on his arrival in India, found himself involved, or, strictly speaking, *involved himself*, in a war with the Sultan of Mysore, who had still some vitality left in him. “Lord Wellesley was a man with a ‘grand policy,’ and, scorning all constitutional restraints, he determined to work it out.....This grand policy was incompatible with peace.”\* Lord Wellesley.  
1798-1805

It was our fixed policy not to engage with too many enemies at one time. We have seen above how, with cajolery and bribery, Lord Cornwallis had secured the Marhatta co-operation. The same game was played by Lord Wellesley, for we never ventured to overthrow Tipou singlehanded. The Marhatta, who had regarded with grim satisfaction, nay, had been a party to, the extermination of Tipou, now repented of his folly. He refused to accept any share of the harvest of booty we reaped after the capture of Seringapattam. So Lord Wellesley, “disgusted with what he considered the ‘systematic jealousy, suspicion, and insincerity’ of the Too late !

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\* Kaye’s “Lives of Indian Officers,” vol. i. p. 339.

“To the extent, therefore, that the war was voluntarily incurred by British administrations, the historian’s (Mill’s) arguments seem quite incontrovertible.”— “Wellesley’s Marhatta War. British India,” by HUGH MURRAY & c., Vol. ii. Edin, 1832.



Peshwa, took leave of Marhatta politics till a more favourable opportunity should turn up in the course of events for intervention.”\*

Battle of  
Assaye,  
1803

The ‘opportunity’ did ‘turn up’ very soon. Internal dissensions (which we took every possible care to sow#) between Holkar, Scindia, and the Peshwa gave us ready pretexts for interference. We cannot afford room here for tracing the successive steps by which Lord Wellesley spread the political meshes. Suffice it to say, that on the field of Assaye ## the hopes of a Marhatta empire were crushed for ever.

Plighted  
faith

Macaulay says with pride that the “nay” of the Company was always “nay,” and their “yea” was “yea”. We are sorry our own studies in Anglo-Indian history teach us to accept with reservation the above remark. To take one instance, and that only a typical one. Scindia had agreed to the treaty of Sirjee Angengaom on the understanding that Gawalior was not to be severed from his dominions. Lord Wellesley was, however, unable to see his way to the fulfilment of it. The Iron Duke, who ever retained his child-like simplicity, and who was ever a stranger to the devious and intricate paths of diplomacy, whether harrassed by the guerrilla tactics of the Marhattas or hampered by the impediments thrown in his way by the Spanish junta, declared that for his own part “he would sacrifice it and every other frontier town ten times over to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith; and that the advantages and honours we had gained in the last war and peace must not be frittered away in arguments drawn from the overstrained principles of nations, which was not

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\* Marshman’s “History of India,” vol. ii., p.100.

# Lord Castlereagh’s “Observations on Marhattas Affairs,” especially on the Treaty of Bassim, fully bear out our opinion. Mill has also discussed this point at length.

## The Duke of Wellington’s victories in India “were a page in those bloody annals for which God will assuredly exact a retribution from us or our children”.-MORLEY’S “Life of Cobden,” vol. ii., p. 133.

understood in India.” Young Malcolm, who was then resident at the court of Sindia, also recorded his protest; but he was sharply reprimanded for this act of insubordination! “Major Malcolm’s business is to obey my orders and enforce my instructions, I will look after the public interest.” Such was the dictum of the Governor-General of India. Similar instances will recur as we proceed.

At the close of Lord Wellesley’s extravagant rule, the revenue stood at fifteen millions sterling, but the charges and interests exceeded seventeen millions, leaving a deficit of over two millions. \* Conquest had generally paid itself, but the enemies we had to cope with were of a formidable nature. As long as high dividends were forthcoming, the “merchant-rulers” of Leadenhall—street were in no mood to raise any serious objections to annexations and the policy which dictated them. A despatch from India, unless accompanied by remittances, was gall and wormwood to the Court of Directors, and thus it was that the greatest of our Indian” Mehrers des Reichs”# did not escape their censure now that he had failed to present a clean balance-sheet. There was, however, one consolation left for the injured Governor-General. It is true that he had pursued the policy of wanton and “unprovoked aggression” towards the Indian princes, in direct contravention of parliamentary injunctions; but success, like charity, covers a multitude of sins. Lord Mornington was granted a step in the peerage, and became Marquis of Wellesley.

The greatest  
of our  
Mehrers des  
Reichs.

Lord  
Cornwallis  
a second  
time

Lord Cornwallis came out a second time as Governor-General, pledged to reverse the *internal* “forward” policy of his predecessor. In the language of 1805

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\* Torrens’ “Empire in Asia.”

# We are indebted to Prof. Seeley for the importation of this expression - “Expansion of England.” The literal meaning is “Increaser of the empire.”



to-day he would be called an advocate of “peace-at-any-price.” With determined patience he maintained the policy of “masterly inactivity” as regards the Marhatta and Rajput powers. This nobleman, when he assumed charge of his duties, was already on the brink of his grave, and he breathed his last within a year after his arrival in India.

Lord Minto 1807-13.  
Lord

Lord Minto carried out with more or less success the policy adopted by Lord Cornwallis during his second administration. He set the finances on a sound basis, and introduced several reforms in the administration of justice. Blessed is the land whose annals are vacant!

Hastings, 1813-23

Lord Hastings, however, who succeeded, proved to be a second Wellesley, though on a miniature scale.

Nepal war. 1814-16.

The encroachment of the hardy mountaineers of Nepal, who were now fast rising into a power, brought them into collision with us. The Goorkhas proved no unworthy foes. The transcendent military glories of Ochterlony, however, stemmed the tide in our favour. The Goorkhas have since then scrupulously maintained all treaty obligations, and a splendid regiment, furnished by the celebrated Jung Bahadoor during the dark days of the Mutiny, did us yeomen’s service. The kind permission granted by the King of Nepal to levy recruits in his territories is no doubt highly prized by us.

Claimants to the Governor-Generalship

We remember having read somewhere among the writings of Sir John Kaye, that a Cabinet minister, a Colonial governor, and an English nobleman of dilapidated fortunes, have the best claims on the Governor-Generalship of India. If there be any truth in the above remark, Lord Hastings must come under the last category; and his connections with the firm of Palmer & Company, who had extensive monetary transactions with the Nizam’s government, have left an indelible stain on his memory. “The English money-lenders had got fast hold of the remonstrance which

India 3

Sir Charles Metcalfe—at that time resident at the Hyderabad court flung in the face of Lord Hastings will ever remain a lasting monument to his fame. We have seen above how nobly Malcolm had also acted when Lord Wellesley refused to abide by the conditions of a treaty with Sindia.

Malcolm  
and  
Metcalfe,

The chief incident of Lord Amherst's rule is the first Burmese war. Whether the arrogance and aggressiveness of the Burmese or our own blunders were at the bottom of the war it is difficult to say. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who must always command our respect, observes that here we have the "clearest case of self-defence and violated territory." Of the topography of Burmah we had very little knowledge. Our enemies defended their fortifications with blockades composed of bamboos and teakbeams, and adopted a Fabian mode of warfare. The war cost £ 13,000,000. Those who take a £. s.d. view of affairs will be inclined to think that the promising tea-gardens of Assam and the rich rice-fields of Arracan will make India a gainer in the long run.

Lord  
Amherst  
1823-8.

First  
Burmese  
war.



## CHAPTER III

Lord Wm.  
Bentinck,  
1828-35.

The  
Antoninus  
Pius of  
India.

We now alight upon an administration which has inaugurated a new epoch in the history of British India. The people of India had hitherto gazed with bewilderment at the proceedings of the dominant race, which had gone on conquering and annexing with singular success. While one native power after another was rapidly melting away, schemes for the moral and material progress of the land occupied but little space in the Anglo-Indian calendar. The sword now lay rusting in the scabbard. Lord William Bentinck applied himself to the work of reformation with the conscientiousness of a "Pennsylvanian quaker". For the first time the Indians had a distinct vision of the aims and objects of their conquerors. For the first time they clearly perceived that Britain had a higher and nobler mission to fulfil than the mere carrying out of an aggressive policy. The historian of the Roman Empire remarks of Titus Antoninus, that he "was justly denominated a second Numa. The same love of religion, justice, and peace was the distinguishing character of both." Again : "His reign is marked by the rare advantage of furnishing very few materials for history, which is indeed little more than a register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind." The above words apply in every sense to him who now governed India.

It appears to have been the custom of the preceding Governors-General to clothe their persons with barbaric splendour, in slavish imitation of the Oriental princes. Lord W. Bentinck, who set at nought this frivolity, was charged by the Anglo, Indian

community with lowering the prestige of the British Raj.\* Victor Jacquemont, who travelled in India during this rule, has left us very valuable and interesting accounts of his experiences. Struck with the singlemindedness, and deeply impressed with the philanthropic motives of, the Governor-General, the Frenchman exclaims : *Oui ! la domination de l'Angleterre est desormais un bienfait pour l'Inde.*

We shall here briefly allude to some of the most important reforms introduced by Lord William Bentinck. The scope of Lord Cornwallis' reforms was to a large extent frustrated by the deliberate and systematic ostracism of the natives of India from all posts of honour and responsibility. One of the greatest drawbacks of the British rule is that it affords but little scope for native talents and aspirations. Lord William Bentinck, unlike his predecessors and many of his successors, saw things from an Indian point of view, and made provision (as far as the prejudices of those days permitted) for the admission of the Indians into the subordinate judicial and executive services. The principles he advocated obtained a full recognition in the charter of 1833, but only to be pigeon-holed. During the renewal of the charter, Parliament empowered the Governor-General in Council to legislate for India, and added a fourth member to it, "who was to be an English jurist of reputation, and the office was rendered illustrious by the genius and labours of Macaulay."

Introduces reforms.

Macaulay the first law member.

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\*Mais je ne pense pas que sa manière d'être habituelle, simple et enusi compromettre l'Empire Britannique dans l'Orient ..... Le Gouverneur-general de l'Inde n'est pas un prince Asiatique. Le nature de son pouvoir est differente."—JACQUEMONT'S "Voyage dans l'Inde," tome premier.

The private life of Antoninus, as recorded by Gibbon, has a strong analogy to that of Bentinck. "The native simplicity of his virtue was a stranger to vanity or affectation."



Abolition of  
suttee.

The horrid custom of suttee, or self-immolation of widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husband was made illegal by a regulation passed in 1829. For the first time we find an Indian exerting himself strenuously for the moral regeneration of his own native land. Ten or twelve years earlier, Ram Mohun Roy of whom we shall have to speak again and again had begun a crusade, against this inhuman practice. (Heber's "Journal," vol. i., p. 58.)

Educational  
reformers.

We shall attempt to describe later on the achievements of Macaulay and other English-men under the auspices of the philanthropic ruler who now presided over the destinies of the Indians.

Sir C.  
Metcalf,  
liberator  
of the press.

Sir Charles Metcalfe's brief administration will be always remembered for the liberation of the press. We cannot find a more appropriate place for calling attention to the invaluable observations of our great Anglo-Indian diplomatist and statesman-observations which an Ellenborough or a Dalhousie of a later period might have done well to lay to heart: "Several questions have lately occurred in which our interests and those of other powers and individuals are at variance, and in the decision of which we are likely to be more biassed by regard for our own benefit unless we make Justice Alone the guide of our conduct. In all these cases the right on our part to come to the decision apparently beneficial to our interests seems to be doubtful. The Christian precept, 'Do as you would be done by,' must be right in politics as well as in private life; and even in a self-interested view we should, I believe, gain more by the credit of being just and liberal to others than by using our power to appropriate to ourselves everything to which we could advance any doubtful pretension.'\*

His  
memorable  
declaration.

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\* Kaye's "Lives of Indian Officers," vol. ii., p. 169

If India enjoyed a brief respite for seven years, during which a benevolent ruler was sowing the blessings of peace, she must now pay dearly for it. The bugbear of a Russian invasion has haunted us since the foundation of our Eastern Empire. The very idea that the rich prize should ever be snatched from his hands is sufficient to throw the Englishman into paroxysms of wild dismay and consternation. An excited and morbid imagination began to read the intrigues and sinister designs of the Muscovite Czar everywhere in Central Asia; it was high time we should anticipate him. As a preliminary step, we attempted to force a puppet king on a reluctant people. But of 15,000 British soldiers who, assured of victory, penetrated into the heart of Afghanistan, only one survivor returned to tell the tale. Six centuries earlier an English sovereign had tried a similar experiment on another hardy and patriotic race of mountaineers, with what success we will “not say.

Lord Auckland Governor-General 1836-42.

Symptoms of Russo-phobia

First Afghan war.

Annihilation of the forces.

Never had such a disaster befallen us in Asia. Belief in the invincibility of British arms, which had so often acted as a charm, now vanished. At any cost, at any sacrifice, our “prestige” must be recovered, our reputation retrieved. The conquest of Afghanistan followed as matter of course. But this alone was not deemed sufficient for the vindication of the national glory. The Bala Hissar, “the noblest building of its kind in Central Asia,” was blown up, and for three days Cabul was given over to pillage. \* Strange to say, we had to restore to the Afghans the same ruler with whom we had been at blood-feud. The first Afghan war cost India 20,000 lives and fifteen millions sterling. # A later

Lord Ellenborough, 1842-44.

Expedition of retribution for the recovery of the fatal ‘prestige.’

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\* “Marshman’s Hist. of India,” vol. iii., p 228

# “Last year I referred to the enormous expense of the Afghan war—about £ 15,000,000—the whole of which ought to have been thrown on the taxation of the people of England, because It was a war commanded by the English cabinet for objects supposed to be English”—JOHN BRIGHT (1859)

The above equally applies to the late Afghan war.



generation, which should have grown wiser by past experience, has, by a curious destiny, been again seized with an infatuation which has been to India.

“..... The direful spring of woes unnumbered.”  
 I shall a tale unfold, “whose lightest word  
 Would harrow up thy soul; freeze thy young blood;  
 Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres;  
 Thy knotted and combined locks to part,  
 And each particular hair to stand on end,  
 Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.”

The  
 spoliation  
 of Sinde.

The vainglorious Governor-General, intoxicated with success, now began to look around for some fresh field of renown. Pretexts for another war were easily found. If the lamb in question had not polluted the water, some one of his ancestors *had*, and this was deemed a sufficient excuse for his destruction. Had not the ameers of Sinde *murmured* against the forced passage of British troops through their territories ? Had they not violated the sacred principles of free trade by refusing to open the Indus to navigation? Even Lanoye, one of the blindest apologists of England’s wrongdoings in India, is constrained to admit that “three successive treaties in ten years, always VIOLATED by the ENGLISH and always religiously OBSERVED by the AMEERS, ..... had prepared their country for this subjugation.” - (“L’Inde Contemporaine.” Introduction xxxv., ed. 1858). We need not, however, quote the Frenchman. The Conqueror of Sinde himself unblushingly observes: “We have no right to seize Sinde, and yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality it will be.” The Beloochees were not the people to part with their independence on easy terms. A bloody engagement was fought, in which our “enemies” lost 5000 men. “On that day,” exclaims Sir C. Napier, “NO QUARTER WAS ASKED OR GIVEN.” The treasures and valuables of Hyderabad

were seized, which, of course, became prize-money the lion's share, £ 70,000, finding its way, right into the pockets of Sir Charles. Major Outram, who was Resident in Sind when the war broke out, rejected with scorn his share of the booty (£ 3000), and the sum was distributed among charitable institutions in India;—his sense of honour revolted at the iniquitous proceedings of Lord Ellenborough and Sir C. Napier. This brave and chivalrous soldier's "commentary" on the conquest of Sind will as much attest his moral grandeur as his famous march to Lucknow his military genius. Henry Lawrence and Elphinstone also expressed their burning indignation. The seizure of Poland by Russia was mercy itself compared with the wanton spoliation of Sind.

The gallant  
"Bayard."

It was a fortunate circumstance that a distinguished soldier a Waterloo veteran was now called upon to supersede the author of the Gate Proclamation.

Lord  
Hardinge,  
1844-48

On the death of the great Ranjit Singh the "Lion of the Punjab"—the kingdom he had founded became a prey to anarchy. Now that the iron hand of Ranjit was removed, the highly disciplined Khalsa army, who had been so often led to certain victory, began to play the role of the old Praetorian bands.

The first  
Punjab war.

The novel spectacle was now offered of an Indian race becoming the aggressors on the Company's territories. After a series of sanguinary battles, in which we knew to our bitter experience the nature of the enemy we had to cope with, the Punjab lay at the mercy of the British conqueror. It was now for Lord Hardinge to dictate terms, but "he had neither the means nor the desire of annexation". \* Thus, the political entity of the Sikhs survived three years more. A treaty was entered into with the leading Sikh chiefs. A Council of Regency was established, which, with the advice of



the British Resident, Major (afterwards Sir) Henry Lawrence, was to transact all business during the minority of Duleep Singh.

The above is the account generally accepted. There is, however, another version of the story. The Sikhs had been doubtless guilty of an "unprovoked aggression," but there were deeper causes which operated on their minds when they adopted this strange course. The fate of Sind had spread consternation among the native princes. Sacredness of one's cause, and rigid observance of treaties, were found to be no barrier against British encroachment. The Sikh very naturally concluded that a terrible doom was in store for him, and might overtake him at a moment's notice, and he thought it prudent to be beforehand with it. Captain Cunningham, who was dismissed from the service of the Company ostensibly because of his unlawful use of official documents, but really because

Audi  
alteram  
partern.

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\*Marshman. Hardinge had large-heartedness, the which Dalhousie lacked.

As Kaye justly observes : "What Hardinge did, he did because it was right to do it. His forbearance under provocation, his moderation under the hour of Victory, foreshadowed the humanity of his subsequent measures. It was his one desire to render British connection with the Punjab a blessing to the Sikhs, without destroying their independence."-"Sepoy War," vol., i., p.16

of his outspokenness, has discussed the question with singular impartiality.\* Mr. Edwin Arnold seems also to endorse the views of the faithful historian of the Sikhs.#

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\* "These (precautionary measures) were the fair and moderate objects of the British Government; but the Sikhs took a different view of the relative conditions of the two States. They feared the ambition of their colossal neighbours," & Cunningham's "History of the Sikhs," p.290

# "But over the Sutlej lay the British stations and an army whose encroachment was every day reported and resented. It was given out that the British intended to seize the independent state of Bhawalpur, and the Sikh royalties on that side of the river. 'Wherefore else', it was plausibly asked, 'had the Feringhee strengthened Ferozepore and collected munitions of war there'? And why else had that 'Brother of the Devil,' Napier of Sin de, given out that his legions wanted occupation and might find it in the Punjab?"- "Dalhousie's Administration of British India," by Edwin Arnold, vol. ii.,pp.43,44.



## CHAPTER IV

### LORD DALHOUSIE AS AN ANNEXATIONIST

Lord  
Dalhousie  
1848-56.

The second  
Sikh war.

Conquest of  
the Punjab.

WITHIN a few months after the arrival of Lord Dalhousie, the whole of the Punjab burst into a flame of wild insurrection. The imperious Sikh could not brook that an alien hand should exercise a controlling power in the affairs of his country, and made a heroic effort to rid himself of it. The result of two of the most hardly contested battles (Chillinwalla and Goojerat) was the incorporation of the Punjab into the Company's dominions.

The  
Punjab  
triumvirate.

Foundation  
of the  
"Punjab  
school."

The administration of the newly-acquired province was entrusted to a board consisting of three members Henry and John Lawrence and Mr Mansel, who was soon succeeded by Mr (afterwards Sir Robert) Montgomery. Under them served a galaxy of young officers drawn from both the civil and military branches of the services. The expectations of Lord Dalhousie, who bestowed especial attention upon this, his "pet province," were amply satisfied. Under the auspices of this admirable board, the greatest possible result is said to have been achieved in the least possible time.

Mr Edwin Arnold, in justification of the annexation of the Punjab, has quoted Lanoye:

"Le paysan montre avec joie d'immenses etendues couvertes de riches moisson'—autrefois sans cesse ravagee's par les Sikhs."

For more than thirty years the Province of the Five Waters has enjoyed the blessings of British rule. There is now railway communication between Calcutta and Karachi, via Lahore and Mooltan. The peasant of the Doab, thanks to Free Trade, exchanges his wheat for

Manchester piece-goods; but is his condition a bit improved ? Sir Jas. Caird, referring to the Punjab, observes: Their (i.e., the European officers') representatives, the teshilders or native collectors, if they cannot get the revenue otherwise, will, in extreme cases, sell up euery *head of stock and every bushel of corn*, and even the beams of the man's house, and put him into confinement for two or three days. Such powers they say are in many cases indispensable to obtain payment. Sir Robert Egerton, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, says : "The revenue system obliges the peasant proprietor to make payment of a fixed sum at fixed times as Government revenue; and the Government has imposed the most stringent conditions in regard to the realization of this revenue."

A comment  
on the  
"in-estimable  
boon"  
theory.

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## THE ERA OF ANNEXATION

And I beseech you

Wrest once the law to your authority. — SHAKESPEARE.

"The narrative of annexations will have seemed sometimes, doubtless, more like counting out the spoils of brigands in a wood, than detailing the acts of English statesmanship in the light of history." — EDWIN ARNOLD.

"What the koh-i-noor is among diamonds, India is among nations. No Indian prince should exist." — SIR C. Napier ("Life," iv., 188).

The two hundred and fifty kinglings must inevitably and speedily disappear." — THE "FRIEND OF INDIA."

"Musty old parchments." — IBID.

"Unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war, and, on my word, Sir, they shall have it with a vengeance—these were the memorable words of Lord Dalhousie on the eve of the Punjab war. Our noble enemies had been worsted in a sharp duel, and the forfeiture of their independence was the penalty we exacted.\* What is to

Craze for  
annexation.



be said of the series of annexations which now followed in quick succession, and which it is now our painful duty to dwell upon? The discussion of the annexation policy and its bearings on the impending storm has become threadbare. But in no other Indian question has partizanship been so important an element. Marshman now begins to wield his pen with the zeal and warmth of an advocate, and as such his deductions are to be received with caution. The eminent historian was at this time connected with the editorial staff of the "Friend of India," which acted as Lord Dalhousie's mentor. We have often noticed that, whenever the minister of the gospel, putting aside his legitimate functions, has taken to politics, he has only been the cause (unintentionally) of incalculable mischief. The Serampore journal was at one time the fountain-head of high and sublime Christian doctrines; but, alas! the evangelist was now completely lost in the annexationist. He who had been hitherto writing "like an angel," now talks like "poor Poll." We cannot spare space for discussing here abstruse points on ethics or casuistry, but shall merely content ourselves with quoting the significant remarks of Sir Henry Lawrence, who was not now on good terms with the "powers that be."#

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\* Lord Dalhousie penned a stupendous Minute, in which he made out a case, i.e., justified the annexation of the Punjab. Sir Henry Lawrence, the greatest actor in the Punjab drama, however gives categorical denial to every charge brought forward, or rather concocted, against the Sikhs. To the indictment against the Sikh nation, in paragraph 3 of the Minute "The spirit of the whole Sikh people was inflamed by the bitterest animosity against us," he replies, "No." (vide "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence.") The truth is, the Sikhs, as a people never rose against British power. The question is fully discussed in Bell's "Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy."

# "We have no right, as the 'Friend of India' newspaper constantly now desires to break our treaties. Some of them were not wise; but most were, at the time they were made, thought very advantageous. It would be outrageous, now that we are stronger to break them."—

KAYE'S "Indian Officers," vol. iii., p. 145.

The arguments used by Lord Dalhousie and his school in support of the absorption of the native states are but too well known. It was urged that the Company stood in the relation of suzerain to many of the princes, and in the event of failures of heirs male of their body lawfully begotten, their principalities should “lapse” “Lapse.” or escheat to the feudal superior. Such a principle being once adopted as our guide, there was no knowing where its application would stop short.

There was a time when we had courted the friendship of these princes, and were proud of seeking their alliances; but now that the Company’s power had risen to its zenith, the sooner the existence of these native states could be obliterated the better. The Englishman has now a conveniently short memory; he contrives to forget all past obligations, and

Political  
profligacy  
runs riot.

—“When he once attains the upmost round,  
He then unto the ladder turns his back,  
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees  
By which he did ascend;”

and thus no compunction was felt when the neighbour’s property was converted into Naboth’s vineyard.

The first victim of the policy was the state of Sattarah. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had spent the best years of his lifetime in the courts of the Marhatta princes, and in whom the diplomatist, administrator, and historian found such harmonious blending, may be presumed to know something about the relation in which the state in question stood to the paramount power. And of him sir E.Colebrook says:

Sattarah.

“I don’t remember ever to have seen Mr. Elphinstone so shocked as he was at this proceeding (annexation of Sattarah). The treaty of Sattarah sovereignty as a jageer over which we had claims of feudal superiority, he regarded as a monstrous one.”

It was now the turn of Nagpore. “The question,” observes Mr Meadows Taylor—no mean authority—

Nagpore.



“remained to be decided on grounds of EXPEDIENCY not of RIGHT. In favour of continuing the state, by adoption or recognition of some claimant to the succession, Mr Mansel, the Resident, pleaded strongly, and was supported in the Supreme Council by Sir John Low, in an able minute which set forth the alarm already existing among native states, consequent upon the annexations of Sind and the Punjab, the necessity of maintaining public faith inviolate, and the advisability of allowing the widows of the raja and the chief men of Nagpore to make their own arrangements in regard to a successor ..... These views were, however, diametrically opposite to that of the Governor-General.”\*

It might be expected that we were content with the mere resumption of the state. No; that could not be. Even the movable property of the bereaved princess—her very cattle and chattel—were not sacred from our avarice. British officers forgetting the inviolability of the Hindu zenana the *sanctum sanctorum* broke into it and there, under the guidance of the deity who we are ashamed to name, actually

Jhansi.

“Rifled the bowels of their mother earth  
For treasures better hid. #

The case of Jhansi deserves more than a passing notice. Gunga Dar Rao, the last ruler of Jhansi, had adopted a boy, in strict accordance with Hindoo law, to be his successor, and on his death-bed notified it to the Governor-General. The choice was rescinded. Lakshmi Bai, the widowed princess, pleaded hard to the Resident, and pointed out that her late husband and all his

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\* Meadows Taylor's "History of India," pp. 700, 701.

# See Arnold's "Dalhousie," vol. ii, pp. 166. 8 and Torrens' "Empire in Asia."

ancestors -had been staunch allies of the British; and on one occasion she exclaimed, in a pathetic but decisive tone, "I will not part with my Jhansi." At length, finding her entreaties and remonstrances of little avail, she made a virtue of necessity, and patiently bided her time. Like the Scottish queen, she "studied revenge." On the first outbreak of mutiny she suddenly appeared in her capital. Her devoted people, oblivious of the "inestimable blessings" they enjoyed under the British rule, rallied round her. At their head she, like the "British warrior queen,"

"Rushed to battle, fought and died. "

Sir Hugh Rose, upon whom devolved the task of suppressing the Mutiny in Central India, remarked: "The Indian Mutiny has produced but one *man*, and that man was a woman."\*

No question has given rise to so many controversies as that of Oude. Fortunately, the materials at our disposal are abundant. We have here the testimonies of independent and non-official authorities, who are entitled to our highest respect. We must apologise for treating this matter in rather disproportionate detail; but we shall, however, take this opportunity of incidentally making some observations on the nature of our past dealings with native princes in general.

The case of Oude chosen as a type.

"What is Truth, said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer."

Those with whom rested the final decision of the fate of Oude do not seem to have been at particular pains to get at the bottom of the affair. Complaints about the misgovernment of Oude have been brought to the notice of the Supreme Government since the begging of this century. Grave as are the charges, deductions

\*See obituary notice of Lord Strathnairn in the "Times" of October 16, 1885.



The case of  
oude  
continued

must be made for official colouring. Everyone who has read Bp. Heber's "Journals" must have noticed the keen discerning powers of the author, and the extreme care he took in collecting accurate information. This eminent divine had no particular cause or party to vindicate. He saw nothing through a distorting medium; his vision was unimpeded by class prejudices. He resembled the great Continental poet and philosopher to whom "all national jealousies and prejudices were quite foreign, and who saw in man the human being only." Hence Bp. Heber's observations on the condition of Gude must be regarded as valuable. "I was pleased, however, and surprised, *after all which I had heard of Oude*, to find the country so completely under the plough; since, were the oppression so great as is sometimes stated, I cannot think that we should witness so considerable a population, or so much industry."\* Bp. Heber was expressly cautioned against the law less and ferocious character of the people of Oude ; but his own experiences were quite of the opposite kind, for he was struck with "their *invariable civility and good-nature*," and he did not believe that "they were inflamed by any peculiar animosity against the English."\*

That there were gross irregularities in the government of Gude it would be idle to deny. But who were primarily responsible for this state of things? A "grand policy," intitiated by Warren Hastings, and carried into perfection by Lord Wellesley, quartered a "subsidiary army" on the resources of the native princes.

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\*Heber's "Journal" (1846); vol. i., p. 210

Cf. "In the number of cattle, horses, and goods which they possess, and in the appearance of their houses and clothes, the people (of Odue) are in no points worse (in many, better off) than our own subjects. The wealth of Lucknow—not merely of those in authority, but the prosperity of the bankers and shopkeepers—is far superior to that of any city (Calcutta perhaps excepted) in the British dominions. How can all this be the case, if the Government is notorious for tyranny and oppression?"—Notes on Indian Affairs," vol. i., p 156, by Hon. F.I.Shore).

The consequence of this heavy drainage on their exchequer was to paralyse the machinery of their administration. With an ill-paid police, with revenue often in arrears, no wonder that extortion and rapine should follow in the train. As Bp. Heber justly observes: "They (the King of Oude's statements) show strongly the perplexities and mischief arising from the subsidiary system, which for so many years seems to have been our favourite policy in India, and to which it must be owned a considerable part of our greatness is owing."\*

It was, however, in more ways than one that we made efficient administration of Oude an impossibility. How the Sadat Ali, King of Oude, had appointed a man of remarkable abilities and administrative genius as his prime minister. In an incredibly short space of time he' introduced several reforms, and Oude began to assume an appearance of prosperity. Here we must say a word or two about a peculiar personage with whom it is the lot of the readers of Indian history to cultivate acquaintance—the "Resident" or "Political." Whenever we find anything has gone abnormally wrong in our dealings with the native princes, we may almost be sure the Resident is at the bottom of it. This was pointed out long ago by the Duke of Wellington. # It is true, Elphinstone, Malcolm, and Metcalfe won their laurels as "Politicals," and have left honourable traditions behind. Unfortunately, these are not the only names in the pantheon of Anglo-Indian Politicals. Dismissed ministers and disaffected subjects of the native princes have often found indirect encouragement from our

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\* Sir T. Munro, speaking in 1817 of the subsidiary system, observes that it must "destroy every government which it undertakes to protect."—{ "Life," vol. i., p. 464. }

# "In our treaties we recognised them—the native princes—as independent sovereigns. Then we sent Residents to their courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassadors, they assumed the functions of dictators, interfered in all private concerns, countenanced refractory subjects against them, and made the most ostentatious exhibitions of their exercise of authority."



Residents. A weak-minded ruler and a pliant and unscrupulous minister are what have been most agreeable to the jealous and haughty temper of these mischief-makers. It is a mere truism that an honest and conscientious man cannot serve at the same time two masters of entirely different temperaments. Thus it was that the able and virtuous minister of the King of Oude was now sacrificed. Marshman has, in his own inimitable style, given us a short but graphic account of Hakim Mehdi, \* but he has drawn a veil over the most important part. Bp. Heber# and Prof. H.H. Wilson have, however, supplied the missing information, and thus we get a connected narrative of the whole story.##

Our dealings with the rulers of Oude have been always characterised by that strange admixture of

\* This extraordinary man—"Hakim Mehdi—was the son of a Persian gentleman of Sheraz, who emigrated to India in search of political employment, and entered the service of Oude, in which he rapidly rose to distinction. He was one of the ministers who, in 1801, vigorously, but ineffectually, opposed the cession of territory demanded by Lord Wellesley. He Identified the prosperity of his adopted country with his own happiness, and devoted his splendid talents to the improvement of the administration. It was gracefully remarked of him, that the poorest man never entered his house without a welcome or departed without relief ..... Lord Wm. Bentinck pronounced him one of the ablest men in India, and as a revenue administrator unsurpassed by any officer, European or native."—History" vol. iii.. p. 26.

# "His-King of Oude's—minister at the time of his death was Haki m Mehdi . A man of very considerable talents and to the full as honest and respectable in his public and private character as an Eastern vizier can usually be expected to be. The new sovereign was said not to be very fond of him, but there seemed to be not the least inclination of removing him till his power was undermined, most unfortunately for all parties *by the British themselves*. "—HEBER'S" Journals," vol. ii., p. 221.

## "The Resident (Mr Maddock) opposed his (Hakim Mehdi's) elevation under the impression that Hakim Mehdi was decidedly inimical to British rule. But the Government anticipating important benefits from his acknowledged abilities, concurred in his nomination. His restoration to power was followed by measures of a beneficial tendency." The Resident, however, remained surly, and reported that the state of Oude "had reached so incurable a stage of decline, that nothing but assumption of the administration for a time could preserve it from utter ruin."—Wilson's continuation of Mill.

cunning, shrewdness, and duplicity, which would ever form one of the darkest chapters in the history of India. When Warren Hastings wanted money he let out on hire the Company's battalions to conquer and exterminate the brave Rohillas, and have their land added to the province of Oude. When the Nepaul war emptied the treasury at Calcutta, Lord Hastings was glad to obtain a loan of half- a-million from the Vizier of Oude, in consideration of which the territories torn from Nepaul were conferred upon the latter, as also the proud title of "King." This last act had also a political significance-that of lowering the prestige of the descendant of the Great Mogul. Thus, while we were under obligations to the rulers of Oude, all our sympathy for the down-trodden millions of Oude evaporated.\*

Mock-philanthropy.

It was Colonel Sleeman who, in a formal manner, brought to the notice of Lord Dalhousie's government the miserable condition of the Oude peasantry. Sleeman, like Low and Henry Lawrence, was always a chivalrous upholder of native dynasties; but in this case he was the "missionary of a foregone conclusion." But Sleeman never for a moment recommended the seizure of the revenues of Oude. He, in fact, held the views of Henry Lawrence, who said: "Let the administration of the country be, so far as possible, native. Let not a rupee come into the Company's coffers." Mr Herbert Merivale, after carefully going over what both sides have to say, arrives at an opinion which is substantially the same as that recorded by Heber nearly thirty years before the "mission" of Sleeman. "Common justice will, therefore, compel us, who have no special cause to defend with the energy with which sides are generally taken in Indian politics, to own that Oude, when we annexed it, was a wealthy, populous, commercial

Annexation of Oude.

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\*Mr Bright reviewing the whole transactions of the British Government with the rulers of Oude since the days of Warren Hastings, estimates that £ 31,500,000 had been extorted from them under various pretexts (1858).—"Speeches of John Bright." Edited by THOROLD ROGERS, vol. i., p.70



region, which might fairly hold a comparison in these respects with many portions of our adjacent empire. Misgoverned it had been, and disgracefully, but not to the extent which really comes home to the mass of the population and paralyses industry.”\* Upon the whole we are inclined to think that the annexation of Oude was the result of that insatiable “earth-hunger” with which we had then been seized, # veiled though it was under the specious pretexts of conferring the “inestimable blessing” of British rule upon the wretched victims of tyranny. ##

Even the French writer of this period seems to have been infected with the then prevalent craze. Lanoye speaks of the annexation of Oude as one of the “crowning acts” of Dalhousie’s administration, and observes that we were not bound to abide by treaty obligations with a people among whom there had been no Grotius or Puffendorf. ### The French writer evidently forgets or ignores that, long before Minos, Lycurgus and Solon, Justin and Grotius had given laws to the European nations, Manu had laid down the fundamental principles of jurisprudence in no vague terms, which still hold the Hindu mind spell-bound.

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\*“Life of sir Henry Lawrence,” vol. ii, p. 288.

The condition of Oude appears now to be worse. “They (the masses) are often underfed, generally underclothed, and have not, as a rule, anything that they can call their own’ (1880).—H. C. Irwin : *The Garden of India*.” p. 307

# The above was written nearly three months before the annexation of Burmah.

## Mr Edwin Arnold has approvingly quoted Lanoye in support of the annexation of Oude. But a countryman of Lanoye’s, who throughout his work, expresses his admiration for British rule, thus records his candid opinion: “Il est peu de villes de l’Inde dont, le premier aspect charme plus l’entrager que Lucknow, et l’on comprend avec quelle conviction les Anglais ont dû longtemps contempler cette perle des cités de l’Hindoustan, Jusqu’au jour où sur un futile prétexte ils réussirent à s’en emparer.”—RODSSELET: “L’Inde des Rajas p. 679.

Mr Irwin also takes the above view.

### “L’Inde Contemporaine,” -Edition of 1858, P. 287.

Indeed, our conscience had been so much steeled to wrong-doing as regards our dealings with the native princes that we did not see the frequent violations of plighted faith in their true light; and not until the terrible catastrophe overtook us did we rid ourselves of the notion that the “down-trodden” peasant awaited with anxiety our happy advent. It was forgotten that, whenever we had annexed any territory, there was always at our back the glistening bayonet to enforce our monstrous pretensions ; that the awe-struck and dumbfounded people made a virtue of necessity. \* Passive acquiescence was thus confounded with direct approval. # It is probable that a mutiny would have broken out in the Bengal Sepoy regiment even if there had been no annexations; but ceratin it is that it could have been localised (as in the case of Vellore mutiny), and thus nipped in the bud. It was in some of the newly annexed provinces, e.g., Oude and Jhansi, that the massses made common cause with the mutineers, or, in other words, the mutiny assumed the gigantic proportions of a *rebellion*.##

Its bearings  
on the  
Mutiny.

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\*The reader may read the above in the light of contemporary events, e.g., annexation of Burmah.

#The precious lesson contained in the following dialogue was lost upon us in the moment of infatuation: “Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that (annexation)” “Why so?” said Captain Lockitt, “are not our people far better governed?” “Yes; but the name of Oude and the honour of our nation would be at an end.”-Heber’s “Journal.” vol. i., p. 225.

##C f.- that the Sepoys believed that the greased cartridges were destined to deprive them of their caste is I think not to be questioned. *But they believed that calumny because the ‘action of the British with respect to their own province (i.e., Oude) had so shattered their faith in the professions of their ruling power, that they were ready to credit anything against it.* ... In a greater degree, the annexation of Oude and the measures which followed that annexation; in a lesser degree, the actual employment of animal fat, ... constituted ample grounds for the distrust evinced by the Sepoys. “-Col. Malleeson’s continuation of Kaye’s “Sepoy War,” vol i., pp. 351-2



## LORD DALHOUSIE AS A REFORMER

Material and  
moral  
progress.

Indian  
railways.

Since we have not hesitated to expose the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie in all its naked deformity, we should be guilty of gross dereliction of duty were we to fail to present the other side of the picture. When Lord Dalhousie was appointed Governor-General of India, "the country wanted railroads and the people education,"\* and of both she had her share. Men trained up under the shadow of the huge Indian bureaucracy are naturally apt to be thoroughly conservative in their instincts. Their ideas run too much in a fixed groove: out of touch and harmony with the progressive world, they are quite accustomed to leave things alone. We have seen how many of them regarded with sincere' delight the extinction of the native dynasties. When, however, Lord Dalhousie unfolded a new programme, the official world was sorely puzzled. The very idea of an Indian railway was scouted. There were, indeed, some who went so far as to believe in the practicability of the railway and its value for strategic purposes, but then they had no faith in its pecuniary success. But the same iron will with which Lord Dalhousie had carried out his policy of annexation he now brought to bear upon the extension of railways. The real difficulty, however, arose from another quarter. In Dalhousie's time India had no prosperous budget: the revenue was just sufficient to meet the current expenses. Native Indian capitalists have been always shy as regards speculations of every kind. All enterprises in India must be undertaken by the paternal government. "One of the greatest drawbacks of this country," he writes, "has been its total dependence upon the government, and its apparent utter helplessness to do anything for itself." He was obliged to invite English capitalists—under what is known as the "Guarantee System." The plan has met with moderate success. We

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\* Kaye's "Sepoy War", vol i.. p. 17.

believe up to this date £ 100,000,000 of British capital have been employed in India on this system.

Next followed the electric telegraph. The credit for first laying out the lines must be divided between the scientific skill and indomitable perseverance of Sir Wm. O'Shaugnessy and the prompt and ready encouragement of the Governor-General. Electric telegraph.

Nor were the claims of public works forgotten. The engineering talents of Colonel Napier (now Lord Napier, of Magdala) found ample scope in the Punjab. It was under his supervision that the newly-acquired province was intersected with "Roman roads," and her old irrigation works repaired. All our pre-Dalhousie "Mehrers des Reichs" had, in their anxiety to present a clean budget, scarcely spent anything worthy the name upon public works. But under Lord Dalhousie" no warlike pre-occupation nor financial pressure was suffered to interfere with the progress of the Ganges Canal."\* This last undertaking, with which the name of Sir Probyn Cautley will be ever associated, cost near a million and a half. Public works.

But the reform, rather renovation, the benefits of which were at once brought home to the millions of India, was that in connection with the postal department. It appears that before Lord Dalhousie's time the mails were delivered with as much punctuality and despatch as that described in the opening lines of the Heart of Midlothian. Rowland Hill system introduced in India.

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\*"Dalhousie's Administration of British India," vol., ii., p.277.

The above applies to the case of the Ganges Canal alone.

The Kistna embankment, upon the completion of which depended the well-being of hundreds of thousands, "was stopped ... because money was wanted for the Burmese ( second) war," - JOHN BRIGHT, 1853.

In connection with this affair Sir Arthur Cotton, one of the best engineers that ever accepted service under the Government of India, was subjected to an ignominious treatment. (See BELL'S "Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy.")



Educational  
reforms.

Education also received a fresh stimulus from Lord Dalhousie. James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, had established vernacular schools in all the important districts under his jurisdiction. The success of this measure induced the Governor-General to extend it throughout Bengal. Mr Bethune, a member of the government, "devoted his time and purse to the cause of female education." We shall revert to this branch of our subject in its proper place.

Cultivation  
of tea.

It is to Lord Dalhousie again that India is indebted for the introduction of the tea-plant. "There is reason to believe," he writes, "that the growth of the tea-plant will be very widely spread in future years, and that the trade in tea produced in India will become considerable." To what extent his prediction has been fulfilled will be apparent from the fact that India now exports more than three millions' worth of the fragrant leaf, extracted for the most part from the pestilential swamps of the Terai and Assam.

Concluding  
remarks on  
the  
administration  
of Lord  
Dalhousie.

The eulogists, or rather apologists,\* of Lord Dalhousie maintain that the annexations which distinguish—disfigure is the better word—his rule, proceeded from his very anxiety to confer an "inestimable boon" on the millions. This cannot be accepted as a vindication of his policy. Such a doctrine once laid down is capable of comprehensive interpretation and wide application in the hands of the strong. It signifies, after all, that means are justified by ends. Nay, we shall see below that the absorption of the native states, which in the eyes of Marshman is synonymous with the "substitution of a civilised domain for the reign of barbarism," has not been followed by the advent of a millennium for the masses.\* The politics of the annexationists is politics divorced from justice; politics divorced from morality; politics divorced from

\* See "India under Dalhousie and Canning," by the Duke of Argyll.

humanity. While, therefore, Lord Dalhousie must occupy a unique place in the history of British India, owing to his having made light of "musty old parchments," the impartial historian will probably be inclined to assign him a place next to, if not alongside of, Bentinck.#

Well was it both for India and for England that a ruler was now called upon to guide the helm of the State, who during the tumultuous storm which now swept over the land never lost his head, but retained throughout his serene composure of mind and imperturbable calmness of judgment.##

Lord  
Canning  
1856-61

How and why the Mutiny broke out is beyond our province to inquire into, though we have not failed to hint at some of the causes. We take the fact as it is, and proceed to a review of events on this side of that great landmark in the history of India. We may remark in passing that the people in general showed steadfast and devoted loyalty to the British cause, and that the fidelity of the Indian chiefs stood a crucial test.

\* \* \* \*

"Revenge ! revenge! Timotheus cries;

See the Furies arise:

See the Snakes that they rear,

How they hiss in their hair,

And the sparkles that flash from their eyes."

DRYDEN.

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\* The peasantry of all the annexed provinces are far worse off now; in short, their condition is comparable to that of the Russian serfs before they were emancipated.

# But Dalhousie was a "destructive" reformer, if we may so use the expression.

## Except. perhaps, on one or two occasions—e.g., when the Oude Proclamation was issued by which at one "fell swoop" it was intended to confiscate the proprietary rights of the Talookdars. On this memorable occasion Mr Bright felt it his duty to lend his powerful weight to the Derby ministry. "I see in that Proclamation not so much an emanation from the humane and just mind of Lord Canning, as the off spring of that mixture of red tape and ancient tradition which is the foundation of the policy of the old Civilian Council of Calcutta."

— JOHN BRIGHT (1858). Of John Bright it cannot be said that he,

" ..... Born for the universe, narrow'd his mind,

And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."



Thirst for  
vengeance

The "Times"  
and  
"Clemency  
Canning."

Triumph of  
moral over  
brute force.

THE Mutiny was quelled; but now a fresh crisis arose. A strong and influential party began to breathe fire and fury. The Englishman in India, who had his nearest and dearest ones cruelly torn from him, might perhaps to some extent be excused if he forgot himself. But what could be said of those at home, who, while treading violet beds and leaning against velvet cushions, now seemed ready to out-Herod Herod ? Even the leading English journal allowed itself to be carried away by the popular current, and nicknamed the Governor-General, forgetting that in thus cursing him it had blessed him altogether. The bitterest invectives were showered upon the devoted head of Lord Canning, not because he had allowed actual offenders to get off Scot-free, but because he refused to be a party to that indiscriminate slaughter which was then going on. \* It seemed for a moment as if Christian principles were to give way to Vandalism: But divine providence interposed. Never were the American poet's lines more appropriate:

"Once to every man and nation  
comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood,  
for the good or evil side:

\* \* \* \*

Then it is the brave man. chooses,  
while the coward stands aside,  
Doubting in his abject spirit,  
till his Lord is crucified."

At length the great proclamation was issued to the people of India—a proclamation in which is faithfully

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\* "But we do not see alike barbarity in deeds of our own in India, such as executing a group of rebel Sepoys by fusillade, and then setting fire to the heap of them because they were not all dead." —Introduction to "Study of Sociology", by Herbert Spencer, p. 208.

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, writing to Sir John Lawrence, after the capture of Delhi says, that the British conqueror now outdid the semi-barbarous Persian, Nadir Sah, in barbarities, who sacked Delhi in 1738.

reflected all that is just and good of this great nation. The Indians were distinctly assured that, as subjects of her Britannic Majesty, their rights were sacred and inviolable. The fatal doctrine of "lapse" was consigned to that limbo which is its proper place. The right of adoption, which is so justly and dearly valued by the native princes, was no more to be called in question. The perpetuation of the sovereignty of Mysore, and the installation of a new ruler in the place of the deposed Guikawor, have gone far to convince them that their rights are not likely to be tampered with any more.\*

Magna  
Charta of  
the rights of  
Indian  
people.

The proclamation-productive of immense good as this bundle of assurances was-ought to have been supplemented by the grant of a tangible and inestimable boon to the Indian : namely, a voice in the affairs of his country.

It is a remarkable fact, that the year which saw the British power shaken to its foundation also witnessed the grant of charters to the Indian universities. "In the smoke of the Mutiny and its punishment, the three universities (of Calcutta Bombay, and Madras) were legislatively called into existence."#

Charter to  
the  
universities.

Various important legislative measures were also passed during Lord Canning's administration. In the legislative council non-official Europeans and Indians of acknowledged abilities-often times mere ciphers and sycophants-were for the first time admitted. By this sham and mockery of a representation we are satisfied that we have given to the people of India a share in the affairs of their country.

Legislative  
measures.

The great Mutiny had entirely unhinged the financial equilibrium. In 1857 the public debt of India stood at about £ 60,000,000. In 1863 it rose to the

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\* The above was written nearly three months before the annexation of Burmah. England has again been seized with the craze.

#"Life of John Wilson," by Dr. Geo. Smith



Financial  
difficulties

incredible sum of nearly £ 110,000,000. Thus the direct and indirect expenditure incurred for the Mutiny amounts to almost £ 45,000,000. And it is notorious that England did not contribute a farthing to India as financial relief. It now became a matter of paramount importance to cover up the deficit, and two able financiers-James Wilson and Samuel Laing—were sent in succession from this country as finance ministers. Their efforts were crowned with signal success. The selfish policy consistently pursued by England has again drawn India on to the brink of bankruptcy. We shall treat the subject at length in its proper place.

Sir John  
Lawrence.  
1863-8.

Public expectation ran high when it was announced that Sir John Lawrence had been appointed as the successor of lord Elgin. The “Punjab Hero” was pre-eminently the creation of India.

Public  
Works.

The administration of Sir John Lawrence will be chiefly remembered in connection with the grand public works-irrigation canals, military barracks, and so forth. It would have been better for India if the sound canon laid down by Sir Charles Wood-at that time Secretary for India-had not been departed from: namely, that no public work should be undertaken unless the expense could be defrayed by a surplus in the financial budget. The importunate demands of Lord Lawrence following so closely upon the terrible famine of 1866 (Orissa) could scarcely be withstood. “Carte blanche being thus given” by Lord Cranborne, the works were instantly proceeded with. \* The net result has been a financial disaster, as we shall see below.

Equally unfortunate was the construction of those “palatial barracks,” which cost India £ 10,000,000.

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\*“Life of Lord Lawrence.” vol. ii., p. 298

Lord Lawrence has also been instrumental in bequeathing a legacy to the Indian taxpayer amounting to over £ 10,000 a-year.

Migration to the hills.

Here, in a long discussion, we showed that the health of the Anglo-Indians was in no way affected by their long residence in the tropical regions. The curious reader may profitably compare the average span of life of the well-known Anglo-Indians with that, for instance, of the professors of Edinburgh University, as given in Sir R. Christison's "Life."

Longevity of the Anglo-Indians.

It would certainly be unfair to hold Lord Lawrence accountable for the reckless and bootless expenditure incurred in the public works. We shall see below that the blame attaches to the bureau and the statesmen at home, rather than to any individual administrator of India.

The bold, manly, and vigorous protest of Lord Lawrence against the decision of the Home Government to quarter the expenses of the Abyssinian war on the revenues of India is quite in harmony with his character, of which more hereafter."\*

Lord Lawrence's protest.

To the external policy of Lord Lawrence we give our hearty concurrence ; the remarks we shall make elsewhere apply still more forcibly here.

Policy of "masterly-inactivity."

The vast and bold schemes of public works which the administration of Lord Lawrence had launched, began to tell with terrible effect just at the moment when Lord Mayo took up the reins of the Indian government. The new Viceroy found himself face to face with a deficit which bade fair to become chronic. The man, however, proved equal to the hour. Those who have been Lords of Treasury-they alone know what it is to cut down expenditure on any head. If this be true of this country, how great is the odium which an Indian Viceroy must incur when public duty urges him to apply the pruning

Lord Mayo 1868-71.

His financial reforms.

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\*The "extraordinary" charges were, of course, borne by England.



knife in any department. To popularity he must bid adieu. To gross misrepresentation of his views he must turn a deaf ear. "Vested interests" and the "services" thrive with the rank luxuriance of a tropical climate under the broad wings of our Indian bureaucracy. An outlay once sanctioned is sure to become a permanent drain on the treasury ; an office once created is sure to become petrified, gathering accretions in the course of time, even though the necessity for both has ceased to exist. Working day and night, and stinting himself in all personal comforts, Lord Mayo in the course of five months mastered all the principles of Indian finance in detail; his lynx eye penetrated into its inmost recesses. The hero, prepared for the conflict, boldly descended into the arena. "I am beginning to find," he wrote to a friend as early as May, 1869, "that our finances are not in as comfortable a state as they ought to be ..... The waste of public money is great, and I have been obliged to take strong measures, and say some very hard things about it. \* Three months later he writes to Sir Henry Durand : "I am determined not to have another deficit, even if it leads to the diminution of the army, the reduction of the civil establishments and the stoppage of public works." This was the sound fiscal canon laid down by Lord Mayo, and he proceeded accordingly.

The decentralization scheme of.

Before Lord Mayo's time the whole revenue of the empire flowed into the Calcutta treasury (as it does now), but there was no distinction observed between local and imperial expenditure. The demands for public works, &c., must always be urgent and ever increasing in India. Hitherto there was no fixity as to how much this province or that ought to spend on an undertaking. The improvements in public works, education, and sanitation depended a great deal on the idiosyncracies of the ruler under whose charge the particular province

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Lord Mayo.

\* Dr. Hunter's "Life of the Earl of Mayo," vol. ii., p. 14.

happened to be for the time being; if he was economical, well and good; if he was parsimonious he might starve all works of utility; if extravagant, all that he had to do was to frame an estimate far in excess of what he really expected to get-in imitation of a person suing for damages in a court of law. \* Under such a system it was in vain to look for economy or efficiency. As General R. Strachey admirably puts it : “The distribution of the public income degenerates into something like a scramble, in which the most violent has the advantage. As local economy leads to no local advantage, the stimulus to avoid waste is reduced to a minimum. So as no local growth of the income leads to an increase of the local means of improvement, the interest in developing the public revenues is also brought down to the lowest level”.# By Lord Mayo’s new scheme a fixed sum was allotted to each province (in accordance with its resources and necessities). The central government was thus relieved of over-work ; whilst a healthy stimulus was imparted to the local governments, and a bracing rivalry was set up among them. They had now a motif to be economical. Since then the power of levying local cesses and rates-subject to the sanction of the Governor-General in Council-has also been extended. The start that has been made in the path of municipal government under successive administrations is only a logical sequence of the great

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\*As an instance of the constant altercation and wrangling between the Local and Supreme Governments, the correspondence between Sir Bartle Frere and the Public Works Department may be cited.

I find it rather difficult to get on with Frere, though I am most anxious to do so. He is bent on independence without its responsibility. He insists on spending not only his own revenues, but ours also-LAWRENCE to Willoughby: “Life of Lord Lawrence,” vol. ii, p 438.

# Hunter’s “Mayo,” vol. ii, p. 64. “The Finances and public Works of India.” by Sir John Strachey, and his brother, General Strachey, chap. ix.



measure with which the name of Lord Mayo will be ever coupled.

External policy of Lord Mayo. Lord Mayo was also singularly fortunate as regards his external policy. \* The Ameer of Afghanistan was secured as a staunch friend, not by an attempt at “burglarious seizure” of his territories, or by a lavish showering of cheap Indian gold, but on that basis on which alone friendship (as between two rulers) is possible-in respect of each other’s rights and recognition of each other’s duties.#

Remarks on the administration of Lord Mayo. It has been our duty to study the Indian careers of all the Governors-General, but none has given us such unmixed satisfaction (unless we except Lord William Bentinck’s) as that of Lord Mayo. Of Lord Lawrence’s experience of Indian affairs it is unnecessary to speak; but we have no hesitation in affirming that he has been quite out-distanced by his illustrious successor. Almost all the predecessors of Lord Mayo had exceptional opportunities of studying Indian questions beforehand. Lord Mayo was quite a novice in his task. Indeed, those who were responsible for his appointment had to face a storm of indignation. “I did not accept this great office without long and anxious consideration.

I bear no resentment, and only pray that I may be enabled ere long to show my abusers that they were wrong.” Here is foreshadowed his entire policy, and with what decided success he carried it out is now a matter of history. Nor must we forget that it was not given him to serve his full time. In these days India has

\* Would that “a later generation” had not been “seized with the infatuation” to which we have referred above! (See page-19)

# “And it is because I believe that frank relations with our neighbours, and constant AMICABLE communication with them, are the best securities against being one day or other forced into interference, that I have succeeded in teaching some, and will before long show to all, that England’s desire is that they should be STRONG and INDEPENDENT.” LORD MAYO to one of Her Majesty’s Ministers.

What an egregious blunder it was to have shattered “strong and independent” Afghanistan.

every reason to mourn the loss of her beneficent ruler, who made her interests his sole care, her good his only study. If any one has in every respect conscientiously attempted to fulfil in India the threefold mission of Peace, Reform, and Retrenchment (which, curiously enough, is now claimed to be the shibboleth of a particular party), it is the Earl of Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India.

We must conclude this portion of our subject here; partly because successive Viceroys have followed more or less closely in the footsteps of Lord Mayo, and partly because we do not think it fair to pronounce any decided opinion on the actions of our contemporaries.

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“Our influence”, he says in another letter, “has been considerably strengthened, both in our territories and also in the States of Central Asia, by the Amballa meeting: and if we can only persuade people that our policy is non-intervention and peace, that England is at this moment the only non-aggressive Power in Asia, we should stand on a pinnacle of power that we have never enjoyed before.”-HUNTER’S “MAYO”. p. 271.

The above words, if acted upon, would have saved unhappy India £ 15,000,000, and still more precious lives, not to speak of sundry other complications and entanglements.



## PART SECOND

### CHAPTER I

#### THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECT OF INDIA

“Danger for danger, he (Lord Canning) would prefer a reduced army.”

“Light taxation is the panacea for foreign rule in India.”—Lord Lawrence.

“A feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction exists among every class, both European and native, on account of the constant increase of taxation which has for years been going on. My belief is that the continuance of that feeling is a political danger, the magnitude of which cannot be over-estimated.”—Lord Mayo.

“La facilité avec laquelle le gouvernement anglais met á la charge du budget de l’Inde une partie de toutes les guerres, sous le prétexte que la sécurité de l’empire y est engagée donne encore à la presse indigène de fréquentes occasions de faire ressortir l’égoïsme et l’injustice de la domination Britannique. -REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, 15TH JUNE 1885.

#### REVIEW OF THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF “INDIA BEFORE AND AFTER THE MUTINY.”

THE practice of putting the gross instead of the net revenue in the Budget is highly reprehensible. The British public, who, as a rule, are uninitiated into the mysteries of Indian finances, are taken unawares. The loan which the Secretary of State for India raises, for what are by an abuse of terms called “reproductive” public works, goes to swell the Budget; this, as well as the cost of collecting each of the items of revenue, being deducted from the gross amount, the net available revenue would shrink to less than two-thirds of what figures in the Budget. \* (The present

year's Budget is exceptionally unwieldy on account of the attitude of Russia, and as such we leave it out of account). The land revenue has been almost stationary for the last twenty years. In Bengal, where there is permanent settlement, it is of course incapable of further increase ;# even in other parts of India the landtax (it is simply a matter of choice whether we call the yield from land "tax" or "rent") cannot be further enhanced without causing a serious strain on the cultivator. For the income from the opium monopoly we have no doubt to be thankful to the Chinese. Even here we must be prepared some day or other for serious disturbances, not from the Anti-Opium League agitation, but from another cause. The Chinese government, finding it impossible to prevent the importation of the poisonous drug, have, in a business-like fashion, taken to the cultivation of the poppy. Although the indigenous product is of much inferior quality, it has one recommendation—cheapness.

Inelastic  
nature of the  
revenue of  
India.

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\*Again, the Postal and Telegraphic Departments of India, which in this country contribute to the revenue, are still non-paying.

The late Mr Fawcett, deducting these several heads enumerated above, puts the net revenue at between 37 and 40 millions.-  
"NINETEENTH CENTURY; 1879

Roughly speaking, the various sources which make up the total stand as follows :

	Million sterling per annum.
Land, .....	20
Excise, .....	2½
Customs, .....	2½
Salt .....	6
Opium, .....	6½
Stamps, .....	3
Total	40½

The gross revenue from opium is £9,000,000. We take the above figures from Sir R. Temple's "India in 1880." The salt revenue is given there as £7,000,000, but since then a slight reduction has been made.

# Fawcett, as a follower of Mill, is unsparing in his denunciations of the Permanent Settlement and the Zemindary System, no doubt on the ground that a privileged class are made participators of the "unearned increment." We shall discuss this question in the next page. Fawcett, however ("Manual," page 285), controverts Mill's favourite doctrine.



The raising of an enormous duty from stamps is liable to some serious reproach, inasmuch as it acts as a "tax on justice."\*

The Stamp  
duty.

The salt  
tax.

The salt tax operates very prejudicially on the poor. It is better to remind the reader that India is a country of famished peasants, rather than of Rajas and Nawabs. The advocates of this high impost, amounting to nearly 1,000 per cent,<sup>#</sup> maintain that this is the only revenue contributed by the masses towards the imperial exchequer; that it has always existed under the native government, and that, after all, the incidence is only 7d. per head. There are several fallacies involved in this statement. First, the English Government, as the largest land-owner in the world, holds the land only in trust for the people, unless it be granted that the children of the soil have forfeited all right to it. In short, the yield from land must be looked upon as a tax contributed by the entire people.<sup>##</sup> Secondly, the due levied by the native rulers was only a fraction\* of what is exacted by us. It has again been pointed out that some industries, e.g., fishcuring, pickling, &c., are cramped and paralysed owing to this high duty. But what is the use of theorising when stern facts stare us in the face? It is

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\* "The revenue has been benefited by the Stamp Act at the cost of the poorest class of cultivators .... Litigation has been greatly increased." -Sir JAMES CAIRD.

# Miss Florence Nightingale, Fawcett, and Wilson's "Resources of Nations," quoted by Mr Gladstone.

## We are here confronted with a great authority-perhaps the greatest authority on the economic condition of India. In Fawcett's "Pol. Econ. "(chap. iv., on the "Land Tax"), we read: "As far as the cultivators of the soil are concerned, it can be a matter of no consequence whatever to them, whether they pay a land tax to the Government or whether they pay rent to private' landowners, &c ..... Those, therefore, are completely in error who quote the aggregate amount of taxation as raised in India, in order to prove how heavily the people of that country are taxed." We have no fault to find with Fawcett's views in the abstract. Now, it is acknowledged on all hands that the absenteeism of her landlords has been one of the greatest curst's of Ireland. The curse, therefore, operates a hundred· fold more prejudicially in the case of India. Mr H.J.S. Cotton, in his excellent book, "New India", which has appeared since the above was written, has put forth our views very

notorious that the wretched people, unable to buy salt, are often obliged to scrape up the saline incrustations from the sea-shore, to be used as condiment ; but even then they are prosecuted for defrauding the revenue-collector, as if they had been guilty of illicit distillation. Some time ago, the "Lancet," on strictly physiological grounds, pointed out the mischievous consequences of the indadequate use of this first necessary of life.# Its effect on the people.

The difficulties of our Chancellor of the Exchequer lie, not so much in the devising of new taxes as in the adjustment of the incidence. He can choose between direct and indirect taxation: an additional penny in the income-tax would give him nearly £2,000,000; or he can levy an extra duty on articles of universal consumption. He has only to take care that he does not stir up class interests, and thus shake the stability of the Government of which he happens to be a member. The Indian Finance Minister is, on the other hand at his wits' end when he thinks of his ways and 'means. The only article of general The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Indian Finance Minister compared.

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pithily. He says: "Far more serious cause for anxiety than the arbitrary decision of a bureaucracy .... is the suppressed premise which runs through all our revenue policy that the soil of the country does not belong to the inhabitants of the country, but to Government. There is no great harm in saying that the land belongs to "the State," when the State is only another name for the people; but it is very different when the State is represented by a small minority of foreigners, who disburse nearly one-third of the revenues received from the land (£7,000,000) on the remuneration of their own servants, and who have no abiding place on the soil, and no stake in the fortunes of the country. It is because we have acted on this principle all over India, with the exception on the permanently settled districts, that we have reduced the agricultural classes to such poverty" (pp. 53.4).

'George Campbell ("Modern India, "1853) says that the salt tax was only one tenth under the Mahommedan rulers of what it is now.

#"It will thus be seen that, although the tax has been increased by about 18½ per cent., the increase of revenue (allowing for increase of population) was only about 12¼ per cent," -LORD HOBART ("Life," vol. i., p. 69).

In Madras, .... when the salt duties were a few years ago raised 18 per cent., the result was an increase in the revenue of only 12 per cent. This proved that the consumption of the salt was diminished by the increase in its price. -FAWCETT'S Pol. Econ. "1883, p. 83.



The income  
tax :  
objections  
to it.

consumption in India is salt, and we have already seen the effects of the tax upon its consumption. The income tax has been abandoned after many years of trial, simply because it does not bring in anything like a handsome return ; while the severe and searching scrutiny into the resources of individuals which it necessitates, furnishes the ill-paid tax-gatherers with an engine of oppression. \* But one strong argument in favour of its retention is that by no other way can the wealthier classes be laid under contribution-especially the Anglo-Indian officials.

A very important factor in the disturbance of Indian finances is the depreciation of silver. India has to remit annually to this country nearly £18,000,000 to meet what are known as the home-charges. As the legal tender in India is silver, and as England exacts her demand in gold, the former is now compelled to part

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The present salt duty in India, although it has been lately somewhat reduced, is still one of the heaviest imposts that is raised in any country on a first necessary of life.-IBID. p. 39

The late Lord Hobart—than whom the poor of India had never a better friend—observes, in another place: “I confess I have the greatest reluctance to increase a tax which is, in fact, a poll tax, upon the helpless and poor peasant.”. “Life, vol., ii. p 489. The above was written in 1873. The present duty is much higher.

Rienzi, whom Gibbon calls the “deliverer of Rome” was deserted by his countrymen at the great crisis of his career, because of his having imposed a “gabelle” on salt.-Appendix to LORD LYTTON’S “Rienzi”.

The British rulers of India-deaf as they are to dictates of humanity-might derive a precious lesson from the above. We shall see as we proceed, that the expenditures of the Indian Government admit of being cut down, not by thousands or hundreds of thousands, but by millions.

\* “The unfruitful nature of the income tax, as giving an evidence of the poverty of India, will be apparent from the fact that a tax of 2½d. in the pound., i.e., a little over 1 per cent., will only yield £500,000 whilst it would reach incomes which would be untouched here. Fawcett objects to the income tax on quite a different, but not less valid, ground-namely, that in a poor country like India the industrial progress may be retarded,”-”Pol. Econ., p.537

with nearly £3,000,000 extra. Again, by the operation of what is known as the Bland Act, the vaults of Washington have been stored with silver, and this silver may be let loose into the market at any moment, to the serious detriment of India, for it would lead to a further depreciation of the metal. \*

Loss by exchange due to depreciation of silver.

We have also to reckon upon the periodic recurrence of famines. They may surprise us at any time, and we all know what an expenditure is entailed, even when we extend a bare relief to the afflicted. Indeed, so utterly deranged has the financial condition of India become, that the responsible secretary for India is, like a quackdoctor, led to apply remedies which, though they serve to hide the disease for the time being, only make it re-appear after a while in an acute form. Thus, each year's deficit necessitates borrowing, to meet the interests of which a fresh deficit is created, and this again leads to fresh borrowing, and so on ; this cycle of operations is being repeated with mathematical precision.

Necessity for providing against contingencies, e.g., famine. &c.

Hand-to-mouth policy adopted by the Secretary of State for India.

Such being the case, the repeal of the duties on cotton goods imported into India cannot be too highly condemned. When the finances of India had received a terrible shock from the Afghan war and the Madras famine, it was, indeed, a very opportune moment for sacrificing revenue close upon three-quarters of a million! It was agreed that the duty was protective in character; but it must be borne in mind that inferior textiles, such as are used by the masses, had already been exempted from the duty, and that it only affected the purse of the comparatively well-to-do classes. More than anything else it was the anxiety of the Ministry to truckle to the avarice and jealousy of Manchester that brought about the remission of the import duties; and one party has finished what the other began. It was of no consequence that an infant industry of India, which had to depend for its success to some extent upon coal imported from this country, should have been subjected

Sacrifice of Indian interests with a view to election-eering purposes, e.g., Repeal of the Import Duties.

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\* President Cleveland has recently announced his intention of repealing this Act.



to a severe strain. It is curious to reflect that political economy is a very convenient thing in the hands of our statesmen when India is the victim. It is entirely ignored that a large percentage of the revenues of India is spent, as we shall see below, in utter defiance of the Teachings of Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill. \*

There are a thousand and one measures of public utility remaining in a state of starvation and abeyance, the foremost of which is Education -primary and secondary. The object of the Despatch of 1854 is yet practically unfulfilled. \*\* The Government has done everything in its power commensurate with the limited means at its disposal. Indeed, it appears that the Education Department is one of the best managed in India. This is probably due to the hearty co-operation of the Indians themselves and the missionaries, both of whom have cheerfully borne their share of the burdens. But for all that the masses have scarcely been reached. According to Sir Richard Temple's high authority, only 9 (nine) per 1,000 of the population of India receive education, and even that of the most elementary kind.# The late Viceroy of India-one of the greatest of her benefactors in recent times-appointed a Commission to inquire into the working of Sir Chas.Wood's Despatch. The labours of that body have been finished, and all that now remains is to give practical effect to its recommendations and deliberations. But, unfortunately, want of funds seriously hampers every step of the Education Department. ## It will now be seen that we talk big about the faithful discharge of our duties to the millions for whose welfare we are responsible. We raise a gross revenue of somewhere

Want of funds seriously interfering with beneficial measures, esp. mass education.

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\*By throwing the cost of the present Burmese war upon the Indian exchequer, England has made one more scandalous concession to the cupidity of Manchester.

\*\* See chapter on Education.

# General Statistics of the British Empire (vide address at Montreal, 1884).

## "In India every province has a separate Education Department.

about £70,000,000, of which we spend only one-ninetieth for the enlightenment of the people; or taking the net revenue at £40,000,000, we spend only one-fiftieth. \* The United Kingdom yields a net revenue of £72,000,000, of which over £3,000,000 is spent for primary education in England and Wales alone. \*\* Japan spends large sums for the education of her sons. But then, Japan is governed by the Japanese for the Japanese; India is governed by an alien nation, to a large extent, if not mainly, for the benefit of itself. #

### RETRENCHMENT

is the only way out of our embarrassments; and first of all we must look to the reduction of military expenditure. Lord Canning, than whom no one else is more entitled to pronounce a decided opinion on this subject, distinctly laid down that the outlay on this head should on no account whatever exceed £12,000,000. ## Since then it has exceeded £18,000,000 and it now borders upon £20,000,000. Nearly fifty per cent, of the net available revenue is thus swallowed up. Unequal combination is disadvantageous to the weaker side, and

Reduction of  
m i l i t a r y  
expenditure  
is urgently  
demanded

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\*"The grant made yearly by the Government in India for education (primary, secondary, high, &c) amounts to £800,000, or about one fiftieth part of the net available revenues." - TEMPLE'S India," p.,139

'The people themselves contribute nearly twice the above amount in the shape of rates.

\*\* Mr. Stanhope's Budget Speech.

Scotland, with a population of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  millions, spends £ 765,902 on primary education alone, of which the Government grant amounts to £308,114.

# Now we can well understand why the fourth Viceroy exclaims: "I believe we have not done our duty to the people of this land," &c.-Lord MAYO.

## We have already seen (p.41), Samuel Laing, a very clear-headed financier, was sent out to help Lord Canning. "After a time he (Laing) had the pleasure of reviewing the results accomplished within a very few years, and showing that the cost of the army defrayed in India stood at-

£20,909,307 in 1859-60    £12,800,000 in 1861-62  
£15,838,980 in 1860-61    £12,200,000 in 1862-63."

—Temple's "Men and Events of my Time," p.218



Amalgamation  
of the  
armies

this is fully exemplified by what has happened since the “amalgamation” of the Company’s army with that of the Lines. India, one of the poorest of countries, has been forced into partnership with the wealthiest country in the world. \* The most docile, tractable, law abiding passive and peaceable people are now saddled with a burden which, when we take into account the poverty of India, must be held to be the heaviest in the world. # Lord Mayo taxed his energies to the utmost to effect curtailment in this direction; and although he received professional and patriotic help from such military authorities as Lord Sandhurst, Sir Henry Durand and Sir Henry Norman, he was almost outwitted by those who thrive under “vested interests.” The saving (annual) he effected amounted to £590,000, in round numbers. Lord Lytton appointed a Commission for a like purpose. It recommended the unification of the three separate divisions of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal. The army system in India has grown with the growth of our empire. There was a time when the three presidencies could be regarded as quite distinct; but now compactness and homogeneity has been secured. Transport is much easier, owing to increased facilities of communication. The recommendations of Lord Lytton’s Commission, which to all intents and purposes were fully endorsed by the government of his successor, would, if carried out, save nearly £5,50,000 to the Indian taxpayer. This economy could be effected without any sacrifice of efficiency. The Secretary of State, doubtless acting under the sinister advice of those whose pockets and perquisites would be touched, stood as immovable as a rock. The present Indian Secretary is said to be in favour of amalgamation; but nothing

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\* Fawcett. Among other items, the cost of recruiting has increased threefold and even fourfold.

# “The military expenditure reaches nearly £20,000,000 and has the melancholy distinction of being probably the highest, except one, in the world.”-W.E. GLADSTONE (“Nineteenth Century,” Sept. 1878)

authoritative has as yet transpired. \*

The greatness of England largely depends on her good fame and reputation for honest dealing. -Vide speech of a leading statesman# at Camden Town, Oct 30,1885.

A very grave injustice has been that of always charging a portion of the expenses for wars undertaken for imperial purposes upon the revenues of India. Now it is the New Zealand war, now it is the China war, now it is the Persian war, now it is the Abyssinian war, now it is the Afghan war, and now it is the Egyptian war,## Unjust burdens thrown upon India. and unhappy India is made the scapegoat each time for the sins, follies, or blunders of English statesmen at home. The manly protest of Lord Lawrence does honour equally to his head and heart. A few short extracts from the correspondence between the Viceroy and the then Indian Secretary will at once bring home to the mind of the reader the nature of the shameful wrongs which England has often perpetrated on India.

“I am very sorry to hear of the decision that India is to continue to pay for the ordinary expenses of troops employed from this country in Abyssinia .... Surely this is neither a question of hiring or lending, but simply one of payment by the country which employs the troops. I believe that I am right in saying that all the expenses of British troops employed in the Mutiny, who came from England, were paid out of the revenues of India. Again, I was not aware that any portion of the cost of the *China* war had been debited against India. I am sure that it ought not to have been so.” &c.-LORD LAWRENCE to Sir Stafford Northcote, 1867-8.

Sir W. Muir and Fawcett also joined in the protest. Now, a few words as to the Afghan war. We have very strong and decided views on this subject, and we have freely expressed them. We suppose India is regarded as a valuable acquisition in that it affords outlet for

\* It now appears we were under a delusion when we wrote the above.

# Lord Iddesleigh.

## And now it is the Burmese war, undertaken with a view to opening up new markets for Manchester.



British commerce; in that it is a field for British enterprise, employing as it does an enormous capital. It keeps thousands of looms and hundreds of blast-furnaces at work. Unlike the Colonies its ports are not fenced round by protective and hostile tariffs. We have here free trade accompanied with reciprocity. \* Now such being the case, and granting the wisdom and expediency of the Afghan war, why should England shrink from contributing her quota? Again the Indian tax-payer had as much concern in the Egyptian war as the man in the moon. # The neutrality of the Suez Canal can be no subject of complaint. Supposing the canal to belong to England. What then? If both Italy and France send half-a-dozen ironclads (Heaven forbid such a conjunction!) to the Mediterranean, what would be thought of the strategic value of the canal? It is urged that the Suez Canal is the high way to Indian commerce; but is the volume of the Colonial trade insignificant compared with that commerce? ##

Did the Colonies contribute a farthing towards

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\* "Just for one moment look to India. India is your one great free market; it is the one great port of the world where your manufacturers enter without being hindered by any duties ... Without India, the unemployed at Birmingham would reach such enormous numbers as to become perfectly dangerous to social order."-LORD R. CHURCHILL, October 23.

# Lord Ripon protested against India being made the scapegoat, but at length yielded under pressure from the Secretary of State for India (Lord Hartington).-"HANSARD," cclxxvi., 1883.

## "We went to Egypt...because we thought that our Indian possessions and our Colonies had an interest." Again: "We stand in a position of greater security, both as to our Indian and COLONIAL possessions, by the policy that we have adhered to."-LORD HARTINGTON. (Speech at Waterford, August 1885.)

Again : "I thought that it was the fact that the British Government put too much taxation on our American Colonies, and that it was the tax for Imperial purposes which cost us the loss of our American Colonies."-LORD HARTINGTON, at Darwen, 24th Oct. 1885.

Lord Lawrence says: "How India is treated differently to the Colonies." This is probably because English statesmen are not haunted with the spectres of Burgoyne and Bunker's Hill in dealing with India.

the expenses of the Egyptian war? Let us assume, for argument's sake, that Spain takes it into her head to recover Gibraltar, and that a costly war ensues. Follow the above precedents, and India would then be mulcted in the heavy sum of, not five, but perhaps ten millions. It was Lord Cranborne who expressed his apprehension that India might come "to be looked upon as an English barrack in the Oriental seas." But to the great misfortune of India, Lord Cranborne sitting below the gangway is quite distinct from Lord Salisbury in the cabinet; and between Lord Hartington as Secretary for India and Lord Hartington in opposition, there is again as much difference as between Saul the Persecutor and Paul the Protector. \* The case comes to this: Whilst the colonist thrives and fattens at the expense of the British taxpayer, by a lavish use of the all-powerful threat of severing his connection with the mother-country, England seeks to help herself to an indemnity by robbing her poor and defenceless ward.#

Retrenchment in the civil department has likewise become of paramount importance. There are two ways in which this can be effected-(1) by the reduction or abolition of some of the existing establishments; (2) by the substitution of cheap native for costly English machinery. The possibility and practicability of both plans are conceded on all hands. The government of

Reduction of expenditure in the civil departments.

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\* Lord Cranborne characterised the Abyssinian war as "one of the wickedest wars ever undertaken." His Lordship also uttered these memorable words: "The special injustice of the course now about to be pursued, consists in this: that when we employ English troops on an Indian duty-as in the case of Mutiny-they are paid for out of the Indian revenues from the moment they land in that country; but when we employ Indian troops on an Imperial duty, we say that India must pay for them.-HANSARD," vol. cxc., pp. 359, 407.

# Indeed this vicious doctrine has become so deeply engrained in English politics, that Sir R. Temple assigns as one of the causes why "England must keep India, the following :

Because the Indian empire .... has rendered assistance in British wars waged beyond its own limits, in Persia, Abyssinia, and China.-  
"India" in 1880, p. 197.



Lord Lytton found that a saving of £1,000,000 a year could be accomplished under the former. Of course there must be a "set off" on account of pensions and bonuses to retiring officers. The difficulties in the way of reform, however, are of no small magnitude. The representatives of "services" and "vested interests" make such a dead set at anyone who undertakes the noble task, that he has to succumb. "Stagnation" in the services and "block" in the pan of promotion are expressions which sound rather exotic to our ear. Nevertheless, they are familiar to all who have relations living in India. Persons who have attained the age of fifty-five or so, are often compelled to retire-who since then begin to draw from the "home charges"-so as to make room for the unfortunate youngsters. These last, before they can be given something to do, live like so many drones upon the resources of India. Dangerous notions obtain among us as regards England's relation to the vast dependency. India is looked upon as a huge field of patronage. \* Whether she requires it or not, fresh or raw recruits must be thrust upon her. To us it appears that Her Majesty's ministers are afraid of being disrobed by their countrymen if they should be unable to announce some thirty or forty vacancies every year. Ask the Government of India to create a new bureau, and it responds to your call with singular alacrity and promptitude; ask the Indian Government to abolish a department, then evasion and procrastination become

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\* He is no mean authority whom Sir James Caird quotes with approbation : "By the great bulk of our countrymen, Hindostan is looked upon as a large country which ..... affords a convenient place for the younger sons of respectable families to acquire fortunes. About the people we make ourselves perfectly easy."

J.S. Mill also, probably has India in view when he says: "One people may keep another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants, &c."-"Representative Government," Chap. XVIII.

its watchwords. Why so? Simply because every new bureau opens a career for new levies, and is a paradise for the “elect”.

If we are to look for economy on any extensive scale, we must be prepared for the admission of Indians themselves\* into the higher branches of the service. We have long been on the look-out for a spokesman of the “Indian services,” so that we might have his views clearly enunciated, and deal with him accordingly. Our expectation has at last been satisfied. Here is Colonel Chesney, the champion of the “elect.” He observes: “In all the walks of English life, the most distinguished men, if not superior physically to their fellows, are at least their equal in this respect. But the same thing does not hold good for India. Education there, at least the sort of education which alone is effectual for a competitive examination, is practically the monopoly of one class a class in no way representative of the people of India, and which is markedly deficient in those qualities most needed for a governing body. Yet against these sedentary youths, who swarm to our Indian schools and colleges, the youths of England, subject as they are to the distractions of a healthy English life, would probably, in a perfectly open competition, have little chance, and the only thing which has saved the Indian service from being swamped by successful candidates from a class which has as yet never afforded any capacity for governing their fellowmen, was the condition fortunately laid down in the beginning, that the competition should be held in England,” etc.#

This can chiefly be effected by giving extensive employment to the natives of India in the higher branches of the service.

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\* The care of Java may be quoted to show that there is no political danger in the course we are advocating. (See Chap. III).

# Article, “The Indian Services.”-“Nineteenth Century,” June, 1879.



This is no doubt very gallant of the colonel. We have taken good care to ostracise the Indian from all posts of responsibility ; we have denied him every opportunity of displaying his capacities, and now we urge "incapacity." As well might we pinion the legs of a man and find fault with him if he cannot run.

The superior claims of the natives of India are beyond question, but their competence has been fully established as far as we can judge. Of late years (in rare cases) some of them have been raised to the bench, and in no instance that we know of have they proved unworthy of the confidence reposed in them. As regards their marvellous administrative and financeering capacities, they are only conspicuous by their superiority to, and excellence over, Englishmen. \*

Again, it is urged that the Indian is physically incapacitated from undertaking any hazardous enterprises. We confess we are at a loss to comprehend the cogency of this argument. Thibet is a sealed book to an European ; and it is well known why we should have been obliged to seek, in this solitary instance, the services of the Indian for the exploration of the Asiatic plateau. No journey could have been more perilous, and nowhere would tact, patience, perseverance, and scientific skill have been more requisite. Has the Indian failed to vindicate his claims? The Royal Geographical Society have passed the highest encomiums on the late Pandit Nayan Singh, the "mysterious A.K.," and the Baboo Sarat Chunder Das. Whatever may be the failings of the Calcutta correspondent of the "Times," exaggeration of Indian merit is certainly not one of them. This high authority has been forced to pay no

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\* This is but quite natural. As J.S. Mill says: "What native of the country of average practical ability knows as it were by instruct, they (foreigners) have to learn slowly, and after all Imperfectly, by study and experience, &c."

small tribute to Pandit Nayan Singh and the Baboo. Of course, if you remove the pains and penalties under which the Indians labour, you certainly run the risk of being “swamped,” not only in the civil, but in the military line as well. The hue and cry which is raised whenever any measure is adopted for the political emancipation of the Indians arises from an ignorant selfishness.\* We cannot sum up this part better than in the words of Dr Hunter, whose views are eminently liberal:

“India cannot afford to pay for that labour (of administration) at the English rates, which are the highest in the world for official service; but she can afford to pay for it at her own native rates, which are perhaps the lowest in the world for such employment.”#

Indian labour is not only cheap, but there is another strong recommendation in its favour. The Indian spends his money in his own country; the Englishman remits it home, and when he comes a way brings with him his pension, which, doubtless, he has richly earned, but which forms one of the most important items of the “homecharges,” which Col. Chesney himself, in another place, is pleased to designate as “tribute” payable by India.##

The “Indian Service” as affecting the home-charges.

During the days of the East India Company the administration of India was periodically subjected to a thorough scrutiny, and various financial and other economical improvements followed in its wake. The

The re-sumption of the government of India by the Crown, and the financial outlook of India.

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\* Thus we find that no sooner does Lord Lytton throw open certain appointments to the Indians than he is attacked violently.

# “England’s work in India,” p.131.

It may interest the reader to add that Colonel Chesney is of opinion that the salary and emoluments in the “Indian service” are not high enough!

## See Fawcett’s “Pol. Econ.” : “The Depreciation in the Value of Silver,” p. 498.

Again : “India is in the unfortunate position, that an increasing portion of her revenue, now amounting to one-third, is spent in England.” . IBID , p. 504.



company was looked upon as a *caput lupinum* against whom every member of Parliament was at liberty to raise his cudgel. The bare threat of a powerful minister was sufficient to bring the Company to its senses. Indeed, as we have already seen, it was the Governor-General, backed by the Cabinet, as represented by the President of the Board of Control who played the chief part in territorial aggrandisement, which the merchant-rulers, in their anxiety for the dividend, always discouraged. \* The Secretary for India, as substituted for the President of the Board of Control, wields an enormous and irresponsible power ; nothing now hangs over him like the sword of Damocles. He can override the India Council if he pleases; and he often does so. The public debt, which we saw to be before the Mutiny at £60,000,000, now stands at nearly £150,000,000,# and if we include the capital on guaranteed railways, it swells to £250,000,000. The prospects of Indian finances are becoming gloomier every day.## In the words of Henry Fawcett :

“The whole subject of the inadequacy of the control now exercised on the expenditure of the revenues of India is one that urgently demands the most careful investigation. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the present state of things. When the Secretary of State desires to avoid responsibility, he can shelter himself behind his Council; when he desires to act untrammelled by their control, unhampered by their

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\* See remarks on the Administration of Lord Wellesley.

# Another very deplorable fact in connection with this, is that less than one-eighth of this is held by the natives of India.

## Under these circumstances it is,” says Mr. Gladstone, “that we cannot find a day for the discussion of the Indian Budget earlier than August 13, when the House of Commons has already sat for seven months.”

advice, he can ignore them as completely as if they did not exist.”

Alas! at a time when grateful India was watching his career with deep anxiety, Fawcett was snatched away by the cruel hands of death.



## II

### THE POVERTY OF INDIA - SOME OF ITS CAUSES AND REMEDIES.

See Appendix.

## III

### INDIAN FAMINES:" REPRODUCTIVE" PUBLIC WORKS.

The past history of India (under British rule) is a history of revenue wasted and domestic improvement obstructed by war. -SIR JOHN KAYE.

The periodicity of famine is now fully admitted. A blue-book lately issued by the India Office gives the number of its victims from the beginning of this century at sixteen millions-i.e., every five years one million of human souls perish from starvation. We have already shown the necessity for providing' against this contingency. An "Insurance Fund" was created; but the fate of it is not very pleasant to contemplate.

Indian  
famines.

### IRRIGATION WORKS

are the most tangible preventive against dearth. General Strachey, who is said to be the best authority on public works, has given to the world a book on this subject ; but the bombastic and optimistic language which he uses does not seem to be based on actualities. Sir R. Temple says, that on the whole the irrigation works return a dividend of 5-6 per cent. His statement is to be received with caution, because in the Deccan the water-rate and the land-tax are not levied separately. We venture to place before the reader what we have gathered from various independent sources.

Short  
history of  
irrigation  
works in  
India

Up to the middle of this century gross and culpable negligence was shewn as regards irrigation and public works. We have always raised an enormous revenue, which has been spent in costly wars, having for their

object territorial aggrandisement ; of course, a portion being set apart to meet the dividends on stock. So utterly were we absorbed in the pursuit of selfish ends, that we allowed all the noble and princely works constructed by the former rulers to fall into decay.

It is in the territories of the independent native chiefs and princes that great and useful works are found and maintained. In our territories the canals, bridges, and reservoirs, wells, groves, &c., the works of our predecessors, from revenues expressly appropriated for such undertakings, are going fast to decay. - DR SPRY, "Modern India," 1837.

The Mussulman rulers are bold engineers in this respect; not only did they cover India with fine roads, shaded with trees, in places which are now tiger-walks, but they remembered the Arabic proverb, that 'water is the earth's wealth.' The irrigation was so benevolently attended to, that the fees for wells and artificial reservoirs were always deducted from the produce of every village before the government claim was paid. - ARNOLD'S Dalhousie, " vol. ii., p.279.

Marshman tells us that Ranjit Singh, whom it suits our convenience to represent as a semi-barbarous ruler, always advanced money to the purseless peasants to sink irrigation wells, and the latter punctually repaid the debt, which they considered as a pledge of honour.

Sir Geo. Campbell, writing in 1853 ("Modern India"), says: "The sum devoted to public works, formerly almost nominal, is now much increased."

Si considerable que soient, depuis l'administration de Lord Hardinge, les sommes employées aux travaux indispensables, elles sont loin d'être en rapport avec le revenu de l'Inde.-\* LANOYE: "L'Inde Contemporaine, p. 181, ed. 1858.

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\* Mr. Bright said in 1858 :- "With regard to public works, if I were speaking for the natives of India, I would state this fact, that in a single English county there are more roads-more travelable roads-than are to be found in the whole of India; and I would say also, that the single city of Manchester, in the supply of its inhabitants in the single article of water, has spent a larger sum of money than the East India Company has spent in the 14 years-from 1834 to 1848-in public works of every kind throughout the whole of its vast dominions. I would say that the real activity of the Indian Government has been an activity of conquest and annexation."-"Speeches." Edited by Thorold Rogers. Vol i., p.42.



At length, at the eleventh hour, the dreadful ravages of famine awakened our conscience, and nearly £20,000,000 have been spent in irrigation works. But the history of our irrigation works may be summed up in three words-bungling, mismanagement, and incompetence. Whereas the Hindu and Mahommedan rulers did not expect (or accept) a farthing as return on the capital, we could not be induced to proceed unless we were sure of reaping an abundant profit. "People say that these profits will average 20,30,50, or even 100 percent. This I don't believe." - Lord Lawrence to Lord Cranborne.

Lord Lawrence was moderate in his expectations, but he says again: "Is it then not a kind of political suicide, cutting from under our feet one great resource which is available-namely, from the construction of irrigation works?"

Short  
account of  
Indian  
Public  
Works from  
various  
sources,

Proceeding on avaricious principles, we recklessly spent millions, and the result has been summed up with admirable candour by Lord Salisbury: "The difficulties which surround the question of irrigation are very great. We can scarcely yet be said to have ONE genuine instance of financial success. The irrigating projects that have been carried out, if they had for their basis the former works of native rulers, have in many instances been a financial success. But, of course, the favourable appearance of the account has been obtained by not charging the former expenditure of the native ruler. In those cases where we have begun the projects of irrigation for ourselves, we have not, I believe, in any instance, the desired result of a clean balance sheet."\*

We know that on £ 9,000,000 spent on the Orissa works, a dividend of not even one-half per cent is returned, though the money was borrowed in the

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\* "In other words, the poverty-stricken peasants of the Deccan have actually to pay a water-tax!

London market at about four per cent. Such is the evil fatality that attends whatever we do. Why? Simply because our vanity or selfishness does not permit us to utilise the services of “natives who possessed a knowledge of climatic conditions of the country, which can be rarely acquired by a foreigner. “\* Heaven knows why the Cooper’s Hill College is maintained, which costs the Indian tax-payer £7,383.#

Another boast of General Strachey’s is, that our “soldiers’ barracks are now beyond comparison the finest in the world.” Probably they are. We suppose it is inseparable from an alien rule that the luxury of the English soldier should be of primary importance. We purposely use the word “luxury,” because it would be beanness and selfishness on our part to grudge him the necessary comforts in a tropical climate. There are other places-equally insalubrious-where we have British soldiers, but not the “finest” barracks, simply because the pocket of the British tax-payers would be touched. £10,000,000 wrung from the hard earnings of the wretched semi-starved dwellers in mud-hovels for the rearing of “palatial” barracks! Surely we should pause before we congratulate ourselves on this.

Military  
Barracks.

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\* Fawcett.

# There are, we believe, 107 students as shewn by the last blue-book on the subject, and the cost per head is £69. (We quote the figures from memory).



## CHAPTER II

### PROGRESS OF WESTERN EDUCATION—DISSEMINATION OF WESTERN IDEAS- YOUNG INDIA.

“Gleistige Wiedergeburt.”—GOETHE.

Civil law :  
necessity for  
its study by  
the English  
Judge.

WARREN HASTINGS, whose equanimity and versatility excite the admiration of Macaulay, was the first British ruler of India who recognised the necessity of encouraging learning, both among the young civil servants and the people under his charge. We have seen above that, before his time, anarchy and confusion reigned supreme, and that it was the first Governor-General who made a successful attempt to evolve something like a cosmos out of chaos. Although the home authorities, in their infinite wisdom, had established a Crown Court in Calcutta, to “administer English law on the model of the courts in Westminster,” it was found impossible to obey their commands in their entirety. The rulers on the spot found it absolutely necessary to inquire into the customs of the people, as sanctioned by their religions, their laws of inheritance, and so forth. ‘This could not be done without a knowledge of the Shastras and the Koran. Thus it was that the moulvie and the pandit became the referees of the English judge, who, before he had touched the soil of India, had probably in all simplicity and innocence concluded that the Orientals had stolen the principles of their jurisprudence from Justin and Alfred. The appointment of Sir W. Jones as a puisne judge of the Supreme Court brought about the advent of a new era.

The occult lore of the Brahmins, the hidden treasures of the East, were now to be unlocked and poured forth into the West. Warren Hastings, who himself was a Persian scholar, could not fail to appreciate the researches of the great linguist. \* It should be here taken into account, that no country has been so prolific of Horaces and Maecenases as India. Both the rajas and the nawabs have endowed the indigenous institutions with a liberal munificence.

A Madrassa (Mahommedan college) was established by the state at Calcutta, A.D. 1781, and this was followed twelve years later by a Sanskrit college at the great seat of Brahminical learning.

Calcutta  
Madrassa,  
1781,  
Sanskrit  
college at  
Benares,  
1793.

It is not easy to perceive what led to the creation of the aforesaid institutions; it is probable that underneath this lay some deep political significance-popularity-hunting. The foreign rulers thus posed before the Oriental eyes as patrons of learning. The Benares Sanskrit college could not have even higher pretensions than the numerous Brahminical seminaries scattered throughout the same place, where alone we are told the higher studies of the Shastras and the Vedas are cultivated. After all, the two government colleges could not have cost more than £2000 annually. Here closes the first chapter of education in India under British rule, to be followed by one written in far brighter characters.

The fact is, in those days nothing was further from our designs than the enlightenment of the people of India. So late as 1811, a worthy of the name of Sir John Anstruther, who had been once chief-justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court, and who, on his return home, had secured a seat in Parliament, inquired with surprise and horror "whether it was really meant to illumine the people of India, and whether it was really

Sir John,  
Anstru-ther  
and Western  
education.

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\* Teignmouth's "Life of Sir William Jones."



desirable to do so.” The prevailing idea was that diffusion of Western sentiments was incompatible with the preservation of the empire.

The year 1813 is a memorable one. Partly stung with the reproach that, while they had wasted millions of Indian gold in aggressive wars, they had not spent anything worthy the name for ameliorating the condition of the millions committed to their charge, but chiefly under pressure from Parliament, the Honourable East India Company had at length consented to set apart a lac of rupees (i.e., deduct the same from the dividend on the stock) “for the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories.” An ambitious scheme, indeed, for a sum of £10,000 ! The above regulation practically remained a dead letter till the year 1823, when Lord Amherst took the matter up, and appointed a committee to draw up a report as to how the parliamentary grant might be spent. The Burmese war, however, diverted the attention of the Governor-General from this useful measure. It reflects no small credit on the Hindus, that long before England had learned to do anything of the kind, they themselves had founded a college at Calcutta, by their “own voluntary contributions, for the instruction of their youth in English literature and science. “\*

Grant of  
£10,000 for  
education.

Lord  
Amherst  
appoints a  
committee  
1823.

The Hindu  
college at  
Calcutta,  
established  
1816.

We said the grant of the state for education was only £10,000 ; but insignificant as the sum was, it has an historic importance, for over it was fought a battle

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\*:C.E. (Now Sir Charles) Trevelyan. *Education in India* (1838)

Cf.- “The wealthy Hindus have just set on foot a school or college without any aid or countenance from Government, who (very wisely, I think) have wished the work to be done by themselves .... the superintendent is a military officer, and the only Englishman connected with the establishment.” . LE BAS’S “*Life of Sp. Middleton*.” p.391. vol.i. Ed.1831.

the issues of which have been far reaching. This was the time when Lord William Bentinck was the Governor-General, with Macaulay as his right hand. The committee of public instruction had hitherto spent the money made over to its charge in the encouragement of Oriental learning ; but now a difference of opinion arose as to how the decree of Parliament would be best given effect to. The impetus given to the study of Arabic and Sanskrit among the servants of the Company had produced a number of Oriental scholars, who had become thoroughly "Brahminised" or "Hinduised." Horace Hayman Wilson, as an Oriental scholar second to none made himself the spokesman of one party. The blind advocates of the study of Oriental languages, putting a far-fetched construction upon the Charter of 1813, maintained that the assignment was expressly meant to be devoted to the encouragement of Oriental learning, and that it would be a "downright spoliation" to divert the funds to the teaching of Western sciences through the vehicle of English. Macaulay, who was president of the committee, led the opposite party. In a masterly Minute, the eminent essayist, in the clear, forcible, and convincing style, which is his own, smashed the arguments of his opponents item by item, and concluded with a threat (which was quite unnecessary) that he would rather retire from the chairmanship than be lending his countenance to what he firmly believed to be a mere delusion. Macaulay's was the victory. The Governor-General in council was of opinion that the "great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone."

Controversy  
between the  
Anglicists  
and Orien-  
talists.

Resolution  
of 7th  
March  
1835.

Lord William Bentinck was, however, not a destructive statesman. All the existing institutions of



native learning were left as they were, nor was any patronage withdrawn from them. Macaulay was appointed president of the new board, and the managers of the Hindu college were invited to be its members. \* Verily “the latest generation of Hindus will contemplate (with gratitude) the statue of Lord William Bentinck,” under whose auspices so much has been done for their intellectual advancement.

Establishment of a medical college

Sir Chas. Trevelyan the “Indophile.”

Ram Comul Sen.

The next great move in this direction was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of medical education. The committee thought that the “best mode of fulfilling the great ends under consideration, was for the state to found a medical college for the education of the natives, in which the various branches of medical sciences cultivated in Europe should be taught, and as near as possible on the most approved European system.” Among the members of the committee occurs the name of Mr. C.E. (now Sir Charles) Trevelyan, one of those veteran civilians who, though working in a quiet and unobtrusive way, have by their unbounded zeal, earnestness of purpose, and thoroughly conscientious discharge of duties towards the people of India, gained a lasting place in their affections, and established a valid title to the presence of the English in their land.\*\* We also find the name of an Indian, in whom we recognise the illustrious grandfather of an illustrious grandson. # The committee also derived valuable aid and co-operation from one whose services to India it is impossible to overestimate. While England had already

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\* Trevelyan (C.E.), “Education in India,” pp. 16, 17. London, 1838.

\*\*”The picture Macaulay draws of his future brother-in-law is as graphic as it is faithful.

Cf.-”His topics, even in courtship, are steam navigation, the education of the natives, &c.” - TREVELYAN’s “Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.” vol.i., p. 385.

# Prof. Max Müller(“Biog. Essays:” Art., Keshub Chunder Sen), says that Ram Comul Sen, the friend of H. H. Wilson, was the grandfather of the Brahmo missionary.

done so much in the way of missionary work in India,\* it was not to be expected that her sister country, foremost in every enterprise, should lag behind. So early as 1830 she had sent out one of the best and noblest of her sons to take part in the great work of regeneration and renaissance which was then going on in the East. Alexander Duff had no sooner landed at Calcutta than he set about in right earnest for the establishment of an institution for promoting European literature and science. For more than half a century the General Assembly's institution has been the means of placing within the easy access of thousands—we may say tens of thousands—of Indian youths a thoroughly efficient liberal education.\*\*

Alexander  
Duff

The General  
Assembly's  
institution,  
1833.

Even many wise and learned men had shaken their heads over the success of the medical college. It was asserted with oracular gravity that the Hindu would never be able to rise superior to caste prejudices. Yes! that was an eventful day too for the future of India when the Hindu, bidding a long and last adieu to the cherished bigotry of twenty centuries, took to the scalpel and the carcass.

Appreciation  
of the  
medical  
sciences  
in India,

Our task is now comparatively an easy one. The educational policy as pursued in Bombay was quite distinct in its inception from that of Bengal. In this case there was no unfortunate altercation between two such parties as the "Anglicists" and "Orientalists," and from the first, unlike Bengal, special attention was bestowed upon primary education. Nevertheless, there are some striking points of similarity, or rather coincidence. The wealthy inhabitants of Bombay play the part of the public-spirited citizens of Calcutta;#

Education in  
Bombay.

\* The poor Serampore missionary, who was not ashamed to own himself a cobbler at the Governor-General's table, had begun his labours much earlier.

Elphinstone,  
Sir C. Grant,  
John  
Wilson.

\*\* Of late years it is the Free Church that is playing the chief role. The Christian College of Madras, under the very efficient management of Dr Miller, is an admirable institution.

# "The wealthy inhabitants of Bombay who, by public subscription, instituted the great Elphinstone College, have been most liberal, not only in their support of the existing educational institutions of the country, but in striking out new paths for the intellectual and social advancement of the people."—Heber's "Journal," Vol., p. 415



Elphinstone supplies the place of Bentinck and Macaulay; Sir C. Grant and Dr Wilson of Sir C. Trevelyan and Dr Duff. “\*

Education,  
in Madras.

In the early period of British rule education in Madras seems to have been doomed to comparative neglect. Fortunately, the missionaries, especially of the Roman Catholic denomination, have done here more for the diffusion of knowledge than in any other province.

Literary  
Society of  
Bombay.

The Literary Society of Bombay, founded by Sir James Mackintosh after the model of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, have rendered valuable service to the cause of Oriental researches. Amongst some of its eminent supporters and members may be mentioned the names of Colonel Boden, founder of the Sanskrit chair at Oxford; Briggs, translator of Ferishta ; Elephinstone and Malcolm. It is worthy of remark, that among the pioneers of English education in India some of the foremost were Scotsmen.

High  
education in  
India: rival  
claims of  
Ram Mohan  
Roy, and  
Macaulay.

We must not, however, forget to render to Cesar the things that are Cesar's. We yield to none in our admiration for Macaulay, whom we may almost style the father of high education in India. But when Macaulay had not even been elected a fellow of Trinity College,# Ram Mohun Roy had sent a pathetic appeal to the representative of the British nation, which extorted the admiration and drew forth the encomium of Bishop Heber ;## and there are passages in it which

\* See “Life of John Wilson,” by Dr Geo. Smith.

#”Trinity College, Cambridge, Oct, 1, 1824-My dear Father:

I was elected Fellow this morning.- TREVELYAN'S “Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay,” Vol i,p, 107.

##”Ram Mohan Roy, a learned native,. . . remonstrated against the system(Brahminical education) last year in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst's hands, and which for its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity as coming from an Asiatic”.- HEBER'S “Journal,” Vol.ii.,p. 230

Cf,- “In order to enable your lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised (e. g. ,the Vedanth, &c), I beg your lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge since he wrote.” - RAM MOHUN ROY.

are almost interchangeable with those which occur in Macaulay's Minute. Engaged in the tedious and protracted Burmese war, Lord Amherst could not afford to trouble himself much about the intellectual progress of the Indian people. Ram Mohun Roy's voice was thus as that of one crying in the wilderness. Not even an official intimation was vouchsafed to him that attention should be given to his memorial. It is perhaps a sign of human weakness that we are apt to give more credit to one who, no less by disinterested zeal than by a fortuitous concourse of events, brings a movement to a successful issue, than to one who, amidst comparative darkness, takes the initiative. We do not know which of the two to admire most—the Indian or the Englishman—Ram Mohun Roy or Macaulay.

The terrible Afghan war and its "tail," the conquest of Scinde, left Lords Auckland and Ellenborough no time to devote to the cause of education. Lord Hardinge, immediately after his arrival, passed the "memorable resolution which held out the encouragement of office and promotion in the public service to the successful students of the government colleges, as well as of private institutions." But the first Punjab war put a stop to the carrying out of it with any decided effect, and it was reserved for his successors to reap the credit.

Lord Hardinge draws up the Resolution of 1844.

We have seen that Lord Dalhousie did everything in his power to promote the cause of education, but his hands were greatly strengthened by the memorable despatch penned by Sir Charles Wood, which has been very justly called the "intellectual charter" of India. While this document fully admitted the necessity of high education as advocated by Macaulay, it also provided for the education of the masses. Model state colleges were to be established in all the central places, with a university in each presidency, to which all institutions, whether private or maintained by the

Sir Charles Wood's famous despatch, 1854.



Mass  
Education  
on grant-  
in-aid  
system.

government, might be affiliated. The most important part of the scheme was that which related to the creation of vernacular seminaries-thoroughly undenominational in character-on the basis of a liberal grant from the state. We admit with pride, that the zeal ,which Lord Dalhousie displayed in putting down the native dynasties was only equalled by what he evinced in giving practical effect, commensurate .with the surplus at his disposal, to the despatch of 1854.

Indigenous  
Primary  
schools.

. From the days of yore there have always existed in India institutions for the sole benefit of the Brahmins. There seems also to have been some sort of schools in the hamlets, where the sons of the money-lenders, accountants, and shopkeepers learned the three R's. The pedagogues who exercised sway over them remind us of Squeers of Dotheboy's Hall. In the Northwest Provinces, as in Bombay, schools had been planted, placing cheap vernacular education within the easy reach of the people. Of late years Thomason's scheme (p.57) has received further development on the basis of the despatch of 1854 under the fostering care of Sir William Muir.

Thomason  
and Sir Wm.  
Muir  
promote  
mass  
education.

Sir George  
Campbell  
and mass  
education in  
Bengal

In Bengal the education of the masses had been at first neglected. The excellent government colleges had only benefited the wealthier classes. It was not, however, till the administration of Lord Mayo that the defect was remedied, mainly through the noble exertions of Sir George Campbell, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. (For continuation of it see chapter on Finance. pp . 72-4)

"Methinks I see In my mind a noble and puissants nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her endazzling eyes with the full mid-day beam."—MILTON on the . 'Liberty of the Press.'

India 7

The Hindus have been a literary nation for the last 2000 years, perhaps more. They can boast of a

language which, in the words of Sir William Jones, "is more copious than Greek, more perfect than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either;" of a literature which is at once rich and varied in poetry and philosophy. We have reason to believe that ancient India was the cradle of the mathematical sciences. \* Even at the present day the aptitude of Hindu youths for mental philosophy is said to be marvellous. "The Hindu Young boys," says Mill, "display marvellous precocity in appreciating a metaphysical proposition which would hopelessly puzzle an English lad." All that was necessary for the advocates of English education was to divert the channel to a new direction. Having once tasted the Pierian spring of the West, the Hindu could not be content until he had drunk deep. He got a new intellectual birth, or "geistige Wiedergeburt," to borrow a favourite expression of Goethe's. And what if, at the moment he set himself free from the thralldom of a debasing sacerdotal hierarchy, his moral courage led him on to abuse his newly-acquired liberty a little? #

Young  
India

The present generation is now known as Young India. Happily, a reaction has begun. The Hindu has found out by bitter experience that it would not do to incorporate Western manners and customs in toto if he wished that the reforms he introduced should strike root and spread far and wide into the very depths of society: he must keep the parent stock intact, lop off some of the old and rotten branches, and engraft new, vigorous, and healthier ones in their place; he must reform and not revolutionise. As M. Rousselet so pithily expresses it, "au lieu de renverser its reformerent" ("L' Inde des Rajas," p. 747).##

\* Prof. Playfair." Edinburgh Review," vol. xix

# "Alexander Duff," by Thomas Smith, D.D., p. 45.

## We cannot do better than quote Rousselet in the original: "Cependant les plus courageux membre de ce parti, qui se decore du nom de young India ( la Jeune Inde) allerent jusqu' au bout; ils ouvrierent des ecoles pour les flues and plusieurs, EPOUSERENT DES VEUVES. Le jour ou ces faits si simples prirent place marque une date memorable dans l' his to ire de rInde, cest une"tlre qui se ferme, ere d'obscurite, d'ignorance, et un nouveau regime qui commence. ."L' Inde des Rajas," p. 748.



Creed

Educated India does not see its way to Christianity. It cannot reconcile itself to a revealed religion : the miracles seem to be a stumbling block. The clever author of "Competitionwallah"\* has assigned a reason for all this: "But, when he [the Hindu] has surrendered his ancient creed because the priests of that creed are at strife with the European astronomers, is he likely to accept a new creed whose priests are at strife with the European geologists? Until our clergymen make their peace with Huxley they must not expect to meet with any success among the educated Hindus." The above remarks, made nearly a quarter of a century ago, apply more forcibly to the present day. What is then the religious faith of the educated Indians? Some of them seem to have been affected by the sceptical "Zeit-Geist," and adore Comte, Bentham, Mill, and Spencer. But an ever-increasing number have adopted a more chaste form of Hinduism.

We have already had occasion to speak of Ram Mohun Roy as one of the foremost of the social and educational reformers India has ever produced. But it is as a religious reformer that he will probably be chiefly remembered by his countrymen. Born in 1774,# in an obscure village of Bengal, Ram Mohun Roy from his very childhood evinced a marked bias towards the study of deep religious problems. A profound Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit scholar,' he had mastered whatever the Hindu and Mahommedan scriptures had to offer. His cravings were not, however, satisfied. It is even said that he undertook a perilous journey to Thibet, so that he might learn the essence of Buddhism at the feet of the Grand Lama. He then turned his eye towards Christianity, and in order to be able to read the Testaments in the original, studied Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The result of his researches was given to the world in his work, "The Precepts of Jesus-a Guide to

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\* G.O. Trevelyan.

# 1772 is now the accepted year. -Ed.

Peace and Happiness.” While he found much to admire and appreciate in Christianity, he refused to believe in miracles, of which his own Shastras contained too many, or in the vicarious atonement of Jesus\*. At length he took his stand upon the Vedas, which are believed to contain the principles of monotheism, and the sacred hymns of which had been chanted on the banks of the Indus, some three thousand years before the birth of Christ, by his ancestors. Jacquemont, who made Ram Mohun Roy’s acquaintance during his Indian journey, has left us some very instructive reminiscences of this great man. # Prof. Max Muller has also lately given us vivid picture of the Indian reformer. ##

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\*\*\*A Brahmin of the name of Ram Mohun Roy had recently renounced the grosser absurdities of his national creed, without being even half a convert to Christianity ; and his first considerable exploit in this character was to publish an ‘appeal’ to the Christian world to extinguish what he was pleased to term the polytheism of the Trinity! ‘And certainly, “says the Bishop, ‘he makes out his case quite as well as Lant Carpenter or Belsham.” -LE BASS’ “Life of Bp. Middleton,” Vol., ii.,p 223. Ed. 1831.

And now a Hindu comes forward to reform Christianity.-IBID

# “Je savais avant de venir dans l’Inde qu’il etait un Orientalist habile, un subtil logicien, un dialecticien irresistible;mais J’ignorais qu’il etait le meilleur des hommes.”

Doûe par la nature du sentiment religieux, mais affranchi de tous prejuges ,il avait lu les ecriteures Chretiennes avec un esprit parfaitement independent et critique. Il n’avait trouve dans le nouveau testament que l’histoire de la vie et des opinions d’un sage, d’un martyr de la cause de l’humanite qu’il avait voulu rendre meilleure; la morale de l’evangile lui avait paru la plus sainte la plus sublime ..... une polemique M!ngagea entre lui et le missionnaire qui, voulait le convertir a sa doctrine; Ram Mohun Roy ymontra une telle superiorite que la pauvre missionnaire, honnete homme, et n’ecoutant plus que la conviction nouvelle portee it son ames embrassa publiquement l’unitarianisme.- “Voyage dans l’Inde’, tome premier, p.185.

##’ “In Ram Mohun Roy you may recognise the best representative of the south-eastern Aryas, turning deliberately north to shake hands once more with the most advanced outposts of the other branch of the Aryan family in these islands. It is true that long before his visit to England, England had visited India, first for the sake of commerce, then for the sake of conquest. But for the sake of intellectual intercourse, for the sake of comparing notes, so to say, with his Aryan brothers, Ram Mohun Roy was the first who came from east to west.”-“Biographical Essays.” p.13.

Again : “Ram Mohun Roy, the originator of Indian reformation., a reformation that is still going on slowly, silently, but for all that irresistibly,” &c.



The theistic church of India, founded by Ram Mohun Roy, has during recent years made considerable progress and acquired development under the leadership of the late Keshub Chunder Sen. It is now nearly fifteen years since Chunder Sen visited these shores. His stirring eloquence, no less than the sublime and transcendental views he put forth, made a profound impression at the time. C"Bio. Essays." by Prof. Miller.)

Political  
aspirations

One person with a belief is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests. They who can succeed in creating a belief that a certain form of government, or social fact of any kind, deserves to be preferred, have made nearly the most important step which can possibly be taken towards ranging the powers of society on its side .... When, therefore, the instructed in general can be brought to recognise one social arrangement or political or other institution as good, and another as bad, one as desirable, another as undesirable, very much has been done towards giving to the one, or withdrawing from the other, that preponderance of social force which enables it to subsist. ....J. S. MILL.

Political  
aspirations

The part played by England in the furtherance of the intellectual progress of the Indians forms one of the brightest chapters in the Anglo-Indian history, While Russia now and then closes the gates of the home universities against her own sons ("Stepniak," in the "Times"), England has for more than half a century unhesitatingly prescribed the works of Locke, Burke, Hallam, and Macaulay as text-books in the state colleges. The minds of the educated classes have thus been steeped in principles of constitutionalism. Each and everyone of them now becomes a focus of political intelligence, from which emanate and radiate principles and doctrines which, we have reason to believe, are

gratefully accepted by his less advanced countrymen.\* The English public has 'yet to be roused to an adequate sense of the importance of events which are now taking place in India. Thoughts and ideas which pervade the upper strata of society are now percolating through the lower; even the masses are now beginning to be moved and influenced.# This latter element it will no longer do to treat as an *une quantite*"negligeable. England unfortunately now refuses to recognise the hard and irresistible logic of facts, and does her best to strangle and smother the nascent aspirations of a rising nationality. The selfish, and, therefore, harsh and cruel, exigencies of an alien rule have imposed various disqualifications and disabilities upon the children of the soil. From the moment an Indian begins to think for himself, he probably begins to be ashamed of himself. Betwixt the ideal and the actual he sees a gulf intervening; he finds it difficult to reconcile the practice of British statesmen with their profession. Sound statesmanship consists in foreseeing, or at least in reading the signs of the times, and acting accordingly. It has been well remarked that the French Revolution was so

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\* Even if England had remained passive, we do not see how she would have withstood the intellectual and political advancement of the natives of India. We have seen above that wealthy "Baboos" and Baniah;; of Calcutta (1816), and the Shrops and the Sowcars of Bombay, had established colleges at their own expenses.

Bp. Heber, writing in 1824, speaks of the "increased interest which the Hindus and Mussulmans take in politics, and the evident fermentation which, either for good or for evil, is going on in the public mind."

# "Les e'tats autonomes ne sont pas le seullement dont le gouvernement Anglais ait a se pre'occuper ; il doit aussi tenir compte de l'opinion publique, que commence a se former a faire entendre sa voix. Ce se.rait une erreur de croire que les 150 millions d'Hindous places sous l'administration directe de la couronne se desinteressent des affaires de leur pays et se laissent conduire comme un troupeau cette curiosite est (referring to the political activity) est generale; elle a gagne jusqu'aux classes inferieures, et il s'est cre'e pour la satisfaire un tres grand nombre de journaux."  
—REVUE DES DEUX MONDES:



mighty in its consequences because it was an intellectual upheaval. \* Voltaire, an exile from his native land, and dependent for his daily bread upon the smiles of a foreign potentate, thereby wielded more influence than he otherwise would have done; and what of Rousseau, the genial current of whose soul even chill penury could not freeze? "Banished into Paris garrets," says Carlyle, "in the gloomy company of his thoughts and necessities there; driven from post to pillar ; fretted, exasperated, till the heart of him went mad, he had grown to feel deeply that the world was not his friend, nor the world's law ... He could be cooped into garrets, laughed at as a maniac, left to starve like a wild beast in the cage ; - but he could not be hindered from setting the world on fire. The French Revolution found its evangelist in Rousseau." Is there no golden mean between stout and stubborn denial on the one hand and humiliating surrender on the other? These are strange times we live in. An institution seven centuries old becomes in the course of as many days branded as a "nest of sinecurists." Who knows, to-morrow another Howorth will have to denounce in equally unmeasured terms the India Council and a dozen other obnoxious bureaus? Compromises, and half-measures, and halting policies have been tried elsewhere with signal failure. "Fifty years of concessions to Ireland" have only served to embitter her feelings against Great Britain. Will the lesson which the sister island has taught us be lost upon India, Eighteen years ago the eagle eye of Lord Cranborne perceived from a distance that India was in

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\* "Toutes les révolutions civiles et politique ont eu une patrie, et s'y sont enfermées. LA Révolution française .... on l'a vue rapprocher ou diviser les hommes en dépis des lais, &c. ou plutot elle a forme au dessous de toutes les nationalite's une particuleres, une patrie intellectuelle commune dont les hommes de toutes les nations ont pu devenir citoyens. "-DE TOCQUEVILLE : Ancien Régime," p.15.

the throes of an intellectual fermentation. \* Need we say that the India of 1867 is again entirely different from the India of to-day. We shall now allow an Indian to speak for himself.

A writer in the "Indian Mirror" # which is believed to be a leading journal thus delivers himself on some of the current questions which now agitate and convulse the Indian mind :-

The "Indian Mirror" "on an Imperial National Assembly

"Regaining the thread of my discussion, I am bound to shew that a strong and united India, as represented by an Imperial National Assembly, is not only good for the people, but is also good for the government in the long run. Had England been the only conquering and military power in the world, a policy of disunion, setting race against race, would have been the best course to pursue ; but with the existence of rival powers, seeking opportunities to crush her Indian supremacy, a disunited empire is a source of weakness both to the rulers and the ruled. Sixty thousand bayonets may be sufficient to keep in check a disintegrated empire of 250 millions, but a much larger force will be required to keep them under subjection, and to cope successfully with a strong common enemy. If England is prepared to discharge this double duty, her present policy of disunion is the best. A group of small islands in the north-west corner of Europe maintains Its supremacy chiefly by scientific means of communication. But in a crisis these may disappear-the canals blocked up, the wires cut, the railways dismantled-when she may find herself as distant and isolated as nature has destined her to be. She may find herself in a critical condition, between a disjointed empire crumbling into pieces, and an advancing

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\* The impression produced on my mind while I was at the India Office was, that I was watching a vast community, as it were, In the act of creation. The changes going on were so rapid; prejudices a thousand years old were so rapidly melting away' the agencies in operation so powerful, that It seemed to me the rashest act which a British statesman could be guilty of to predict-still more by his conduct to prejudge-the settlement of questions which will arise in future." "-HANSARD: vol. clxxxvii,-p. 1075

# March 12, 1885



enemy flushed with the hope of plunder and conquest .... But a united India, argue the followers of the repressive creed, means a free people, emancipated from political bondage. Why should deadly blow to her own power? Has she tasked her energies and poured out her best blood only to pave the way for her own destruction ?”

The writer then goes on to advocate the policy of union as both just, expedient, and politic.

Its ultimate effects, says he, “will be the transfer of civil administration from the government to the people, and in the course of time, which need not be distant, a point may be reached when England may content herself with a nominal sovereignty with her trade intact ..... Let not the future historian say, the inevitable consequence of this fatal policy (of disunion) was to lay India prostrate at the feet of a rival power, which, taking advantage of the chaos which reigned within, struck a decisive blow. The educated community, divided by differences, and the ignorant masses represent this chaos. The masses look with perfect indifference whether England sticks or Russia steps in. It is the educated community-a small section, indeed, when compared with the masses-who understand the comparative excellence of the English rule, and who are, therefore, its staunch supporters ..... The time is not far distant when the Indian races will unite and form a strong nation. \* No earthly power can obstruct this union. It, therefore, behoves the Government to accept the inevitable with a good grace, and to earn their gratitude and loyalty by helping the people in their noble aspirations.”

Fore-  
shadows  
autonomy.

The writer then observes that a National Assembly ought to be formed, after the model of the English

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\* While going to the press we cannot resist the temptation of quoting the following - “This last week the Bombay leaders have again proof of their organising power. They brought together a national congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country .... The whole of India was represented. from Madras to Lahore, from Bombay to Calcutta. For the first time perhaps since

parliament, in which delegates from the Provincial Assemblies are to meet. "It may embrace the following :— (1) Legislation, (2) Finance, (3) Taxation (4) Education, (5) Medical Department, (6) Miscellaneous (7) Right of Interpellation."

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the world began, India, as a nation, met together, Its congeries of races, Its diversity of castes all seemed to find a common ground in their political aspirations."—Political Progress in India", by the "Times" Bombay Correspondent.



## CHAPTER III

### THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA—COMPARATIVE MERITS OF NATIVE AND BRITISH RULE.

“If they were to do their duty towards India they could only discharge that duty by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that country, It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian character, They really must not be too proud, They were always ready to speak of the English Government as so infinitely superior to anything in the way of Indian Government, But if the natives of India were disposed to be equally critical, it would be possible for them to find out weak points in the harness of the English administration-SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE (vide “Hansard, “vol. clxxxvii. “The Mysore Question.,” 1867).

The general concurrence of opinion of those who know India best, is that a number of well-governed small states are in the highest degree advantageous to the development of the political and moral condition of India. It (native administration) has a fitness and congeniality for them impossible for us adequately to realise. —LORD CRANBORNE (1867), IBID.

“The city (Ulwar) is walled, and full of active, busy people, more so than in British India generally; and there is more sign of life, I believe, because it has the advantage of a reigning prince resident, who spends his income at home.” - SIR JAMES CAIRD.

Dans les pays qui ont conservé une semi-indépendance, l’Hindou se montre son caractère naturel ; là il est accessible, car il a continué à considérer l’Européen comme son égal. - M. ROUSSELET, “L’INDE des Rajas,” p.104.

General  
description  
of the  
Native  
States.

It would be doing injustice to the Native States if we left them out of account. Nay, we ourselves may derive some very valuable lessons by comparing the “India of the Rajas” with British India proper. Although the Native States comprise about two-thirds of the

British territories, they are far behind as regards population and revenue.\* It is by no means to be inferred from this that they are misgoverned, or that their resources are undeveloped; the cause of this is that, as a rule, their productive power is far less. Thus, a large portion of Rajputana consists of arid and sandy plains; some parts again are hilly and barren. Indeed, it is probable that in times past the very sterility of some of the states argued in our eyes their *raison d'être*; for we knew perfectly well they would not have paid their way if our highly expensive machinery had been substituted for the indigenous administrations.

The function they fulfil cannot be better described than in the words of Lord Canning : These patches of Native Governments served as breakwaters to the storm, which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave.

Their place  
in the  
economy of  
British  
India.

We have read some of the speeches made on the important occasion when the fate of an ancient Hindu dynasty was in question. We have read them forwards and backwards, and backwards and forwards, with unmixed pleasure; and we must add, that we have never come across purer, nobler, more generous and more catholic sentiments.#

We are surprised to find that there are still amongst us persons who may be looked upon as survivors of the Dalhousie school. Although they are now thinned in number,## nevertheless they are sufficiently powerful to make their voice heard.

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	Area in Sq. Miles	Population
* Native States	600000	50;000,000
British India (proper)	900,000	200000000

Revenue of the Native States, about £15,000,000 sterling. The middle portion of this chapter has been considerably amplified.

# It is now evident and that when we wrote the above (October), our sanguine tone arose from a delusion. The Dalhousites were never more powerful than to-day.

## The Mysore reversion.



Disarma-  
ment of  
Native  
States.

The London "Times" represents this class. In place and out of place, this journal is never tired of urging the necessity and desirability of further paralyzing the powers of the Indian princes. In a series of articles which appeared in the autumn of 1884 the contributor points out that our safety lies in the disbandment of the armies of Sindia and some other princes. He observes in one place: It would almost seem as if the Maharaja [Sindia] had repented of the policy he had pursued, and as if he regretted a lost opportunity. It is a pity that such libellous and scurrilous attacks should disgrace the columns of a leading paper. Sir Lepel Griffin, than whom scarcely anyone is more competent to speak on the subject, has pointed out the impossibility of the course recommended by the above writer. We did not "create" Sindia or the Nizam, and it is more proper to say that we exist because of them rather than they exist because of us. Our past dealings with the Indian princes have not been such as to inspire them with confidence. They have of late given unmistakeable evidence of their devotion and loyalty to the paramount power. It is far better that we should let them feel that they are but limbs of the great body politic. They are most willing and forward to lay their resources at our disposal, and are proud when we condescend to utilise them.

"Inestimable  
boon."

Sir James Caird tells us that in the Native States the people are on the whole more contented and prosperous than in British India, and that they have not been driven into the clutches of the money-lenders (sowcars) by the stringent exactions of the government. What have the "inestimable boon" theorists to say to this?

The writer in the "Times" observes : "At the most moderate computation the rate of taxation in the Native States is half as much again per head as it is within our dominions." It has never occurred to him that the high taxation in the Native States is only apparent. The native

rulers spend their income at home, and thus the money which the peasant pays flows back into his pocket through numerous channels ; whereas a very large proportion of the revenue of British India finds safe custody and lodgment in the thousand-and-one banks scattered throughout the United Kingdom. It is not too much to say, that the systematic drainage to which India has been and is being subjected, is one of the fruitful causes of her poverty. \*

The ex-haustion process.

We find there is a tendency among a certain class of writers to single out some of the worst types of Mahomedan despots and bigots, and institute a comparison between the India under them and the India of to-day. This is very fair, no doubt; but will the Mahomedan rule suffer by comparsion with ours? It is forgotten that at the time when a Queen of England was flinging into flames and hurling into dungeons those of her own subjects who had the misfortune to differ from her on dogmatic niceties, the great Mogul Akbar had proclaimed the principles of universal toleration, had invited the moulvie, the pandit, the rabbi, and the missionary to his court, and had held philosophical disquisitons with them on the merits of their various religions. # It might be said that the case of Akbar is only exceptional, and therefore he cannot be cited as a representative Mogul. Nothing would be a greater mistake than this. Religious toleration, backed by a policy dictated no less by generosity than by prudence, was the rule and not the exception with the Mogul emperors ##

Catholic policy of the Mogul Emperors.

Sir John Low was opposed to the annexation policy on the ground that the "European gentlemen save more than they expend, and send their savings off to a distant country."

# See Elphinstone's "History of India," vol.,ii., p. 321. Edition of 1841.

## "It was only Aranzebe who alienated his Hindu subjects by his bigotry and illiberal sentiments. But even under his reign "it does not appear that a single Hindu suffered death, imprisonment, or tax of property for his religion; or, indeed, that any individual was ever questioned for the open exercise of the worship of his father."-ELPHINSTONE'S "History, "vol. ii., p.552.



As  
contrasted  
with the  
selfish,  
jealous and  
illi-beral  
policy of the  
British  
rulers.

General Nott speaks with admiration of his “fine” Sepoys, to whose valour and heroism he was indebted for the defence of the Candahar garrison. We are surprised to learn that even the Mogul emperors had their Afghan wars, and that they appointed a great many Hindu princes, Like Todar Mall as commanders of the expedition. Again we read : “In the struggles for empire amongst the sons of Sah J ehan, consequent upon his illness, the importance of the Rajput princes and the fidelity we have often to depict were exhibited in the strongest light. The Rahtore prince (Jeswant Rao) was declared generalissimo of the army destined to oppose Aranzebe.”\* Can a Hindu ever aspire to be a Pollock, or a Nott, or a Roberts under the benign British rule? What is the highest goal of his ambition? The “rank of a subaltern officer !”#

The  
Spartans  
and the  
Helots

Demar-  
tialisation of  
the Indian  
races:

When on a recent occasion the flower of the Indian youth approached the Viceregal throne with a prayer that they might be allowed to bear arms in the service of their sovereign and country, they met with a cold rebuff. It is no doubt thought that, if the Indian is enrolled to-day as a volunteer he will to-morrow demand a commission and an honourable career in the army. The blind selfishness, the arrogance, the superciliousness and the overweening conceit of the dominant race, cannot tolerate that the sons of the Indian nobility and gentry should ever be relieved from the ban of excommunication. Sir John Kaye has quoted Bacon’s well-known aphorism, in which the philosopher points out the constant risk a governing caste has to run when it depends upon mercenaries for the preservation of its power. Imitate the policy of the Mogul emperors; throw open the military line to the *élite* of the Indian empire,

\*Tod’s “Rajastim,” vol.ii. p.48. Edition, 1832.

# “Discontent of a most serious kind existed among the Indian army, owing to the pay, and owing to the impossibility of native soldiers rising to any rank above that of a subaltern officer “- LORD n. CHURCHILL; Speech. 5th May 1885.

and you only conduce to its stability. Professor Seeley has very well said that India hangs like a millstone round the neck of England. At a critical moment she may know to her bitter cost what it is to coop up a large portion of her army in a distant land. There was a time when Britain too enjoyed “pax Romana,” but her inhabitants had become so degenerate as to forget the use of arms. When the Emperor Honorius withdrew his legions when danger nearer home threatened Rome, we all know in what a sorry plight the Britons were left. The insidious policy which England has been pursuing in India is replete with danger. (See page 84)

An  
insidious  
and  
suicidal  
policy.

We said above that the reforms of Lord Cornwallis were to a large extent frustrated by the deliberate and systematic ostracism of the children of the soil from all posts of honour and responsibility. One of the leading features of the system of internal administration which owes its origin to the Marquis of Cornwallis is, to quote the biographer of Sir T. Munro, “the entire subversion of every native institution,..... and the removal, as much as possible, out of the hands of the natives, of every species of power and influence.” The same writer further on continues:

Wholesale  
and wan-  
ton  
destruction  
of the  
indigenous  
institutions.

Again, in all Indian villages, there was a regularly constituted municipality, by which its affairs, both of revenue and police, were administered, and which exercised to a very considerable extent magisterial and judicial authority in all matters, private as well as public ..... But the most remarkable of all the native institutions was, perhaps, the Panchayet. This was an assembly of a certain number of the inhabitants, before whom parties maintaining disputes one with another pleaded their own cause, and who, like an English jury, heard both sides patiently, and then gave a decision according to their own views of the case, &c. Sir Charles Metcalfe’s eloquent and graphic account of the Indian village communities is also worth quoting here.



The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Pathan, Mogul, Marhatta, Sikh, English -are all masters in turn ; but the village community remains the same ..... This union of village communities, each one forming a separate little state by itself, has, I consider, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.\*

These noble and time-honoured institutions-where are they? Echo mocks the inquirer, and repeats: "Where are they?"

So as to  
make room  
for a  
privileged  
class.

Thus all power of every kind-civil, judicial, and administrative-having been abstracted from these native institutions, was lodged in the hands of the English magistrates, or those of highly paid officials in the local centres.# The account of the functions of the magistrate as given to Lanoye still holds good.

"Sachez donc que nos magistrats de Zillahs, a leurs fonctions d'adminis'trateurs, de collecteurs, de juges au civil et au criminel;joignent encore celles de pre'fets de police."

Now, the population of a Zillah (district), often as big as Yorkshire, varies from two to four millions; and the personage of whom we are speaking, not being

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\*"It was only in Bengal that the institutions had already mostly died out. See Sir H. Main's "Village Communities, and Campbell's "Modern India."

# One of the reasons adduced for the adoption of this policy, is that the natives of India were then morally depraved, and open to bribery; "this is by no means the first time that, after a great wrong has been committed, the wrong-doer has attempted to injure, by calumny, those upon whom the wrong has been inflicted."

omnipresent and omniscient, is a perfect stranger to the wants and grievances of those entrusted to his care. Shut up within the four walls of the bureau, the Anglo-Indian administrators spend' their time in report-making and precis-writing. But they labour under one great disadvantage; namely, they know not the people for whom they are supposed to be responsible.\* As Sir James Caird says: "The tendency here of officialism is to bring every person into subjection to the rule of the officials, who are constantly asking for returns and statistics, which, though often buried in their bureaus when they get them, occupy much of the time of the district officers in inquiry and preparation. The natural relations between landlord and tenant are occasionally made the subject of experimental theories, by men who never had any land of their own."

The evils of Centralisation consequent upon this.

"Nor is it only in their intelligence that they [the public at large] suffer; their moral capacities are equally stunted. Wherever the sphere of action of human beings is artificially circumscribed, their sentiments are narrowed and dwarfed in the same proportion."—J. S. MILL ("Rep. Govt.," chap. iii).

Although we have devoted considerable space to the discussion of the annexation policy, we confess we have not been able to make out whether it was an inordinate greed for filling the "Company's coffers," to quote Henry Lawrence's classical language, or a sincere desire to confer the "inestimable boon" of British rule upon the wretched victims of tyranny, that lay at the bottom of the policy. Its mischievous consequences were first pointed out by Sir T. Munro. Since then, other eminent Anglo-Indian statesmen—Elphinstone, Tucker, Malcolm, Henry Lawrence, Law, Sleeman, Clerk, &c.—have spoken in no uncertain language.

Demoralising and depressing effects of British rule upon the people of India.

Unfortunately, the infatuation with which England' had been seized was dead to all note of

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\* The Dreadful ravages of the Orissa famine of 1866 afford a striking example of this.



admonition and warning. In a remarkable letter-remarkable alike for its pregnant remarks and the boldness and candour of its tone-which the great Governor of Madras had addressed, in 1817, to the then Governor-General (Lord Hastings), we find the following observations:-

“I doubt very much if the condition of the people would be better than under their native princes. The strength of the British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no native power enjoy. Its laws and institutions also afford them a security from domestic oppression unknown in those States. But these advantages are dearly bought; they are purchased by the sacrifice of independence, of national character, and of whatever renders a people respectable. The natives of the British provinces may, without fear, pursue their different occupations, as traders, meerasiders, and husbandmen, and enjoy the fruits of their labour in tranquility; but none of them can aspire to anything beyond this mere animal state of thriving in peace-none of them can look forward to any share in the legislation or civil or military government of their country. It is from men who hold or are eligible to public office, that natives take their character: where no such men exist, there can be no energy in any other class of the community. The effect of this is observable in all the British provinces whose inhabitants are certainly the most abject race in India. No elevation of character can be expected from men who, in the military line, cannot attain to any rank above that of a subador,\* where they are as much below an ensign as an ensign is below the commander-in-chief, and who, in a civil line, can hope for nothing beyond some petty judicial or revenue office, in which they may by corrupt means make up for their slender salary.”

Again: “The consequence, therefore, of the conquest of India by the British arms would be, ‘in

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\* One is tempted to think that Lord R. Churchill almost stole his thoughts from Munro. (See p.91)

place of raising', to debase the whole people. There is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the government of their country as in British India."\*

The calamity which Munro apprehended so early has now overwhelmed, so to speak, the whole of India. Mr Bright said in 1859 :-

"Princely families, once the rulers of India, are now either houseless wanderers in the land they once called their own, or are pensioners on the bounty of those strangers by whom their fortunes have been overthrown. They who were noble and gentle for ages are now merged in the common mass of the people."

It might be said that Mr Bright's glowing sympathy with all classes of Indian people has led him to exaggerate the evils. We shall, however, allow one of the great apostles of the annexation policy to bear his testimony. Marshman says:

It has been the opprobrium of our administration ever since the days of lord Cornwallis, that "with the progress of our empire a blight comes over the prospects of the higher and more influential classes of native society," that "there is no room for their aspirations in our system of government; they sink down to one dead level of depression in their own land."- "History," vol. iii., p.402.

The "dead level" to which Marshman alludes is that of "dumb driven cattle." The annexationist frankly admits the mischief done, but is not the less the annexationist. Of the two pictures, which is the more melancholy we leave the reader to judge.

\* The impartial reader will now understand the nature of the heinous crime which England has perpetrated by destroying the independence and stifling the nationality of the unfortunate Burmese. Lord Salisbury's characterization of the Abyssinian war is nowhere more applicable than in the case of Burmese war; namely, that it is "one of the wickedest wars ever undertaken," see p. 58. It must not be forgotten that one party has vied with the other in claiming credit for the rich prize which has been seized upon.



In another place the historian observes:

“It would be difficult to discover in history another instance of this ostracism of a whole people. The grandsons of the Gauis, who resisted Cresar, became Roman senators. The grandsons of the Rajpoots, who opposed Baber in his attempt to establish the Mogul power, and at the battle of Biana all but nipped his enterprise in the bud, were employed by his grandson, Akbar, in the government of provinces and the command of armies, and they fought valiantly for him on the shores of the Bay of Bengal and on the banks of the Oxus. They rewarded his confidence by unshaken loyalty to the throne, even when it was endangered by the conspiracies of his own Mahommedan satraps. But wherever our sovereignty was established in India the path of honourable ambition, and every prospect of fame, wealth and power was at once closed on the natives of the country. This proscription was rendered the more galling by comparison with the practice of the native courts around, where the highest prizes were open to universal competition.”- IBID, pp. 49, 50.

Anglo-Indian optimists, by a reference to bluebooks-a large portion of which by-the-by, is drawn from their own imagination-prove, apparently to their own satisfaction, that the masses are better off under British rule. The frequent occurrence, no less the virulence, of the famines, constitutes a sufficient answer to them.

The Dutch  
in Java.

The Dutch, another typical Teutonic race, have adopted an entirely different method in their colony or dependency-call it whatever you like-of Java. The following two short extracts will give us an insight into their political administration :-

“In Dutch India, the principle of governing with the aid of native co-operation is carried out with respect to all the Asiatic races, and in this respect the British-Indian authorities might learn a useful lesson. As regards the Mussulman people of Java proper, the conquerors have been able to utilise the machinery of government which they found in operation on taking possession. All the other Asiatic races, who are found chiefly in the cities of the sea-coast, are

subordinated to their own recognised chiefs and these are responsible to government for the maintenance of order. The Chinese officers bear the titles of major, captain, or lieutenant; they are usually men of wealth and position, and are treated with marked consideration by the European authorities. The Arabs have also their captains and lieutenants, and there are official chiefs of the Malayas, the Buiginese, the Bengalis, and the Moormen, these last being Mussulmans from continental India.”\*

The principal local European authority is known as the ‘resident,’ who exercises judicial, financial and administrative functions. Next in rank is the European secretary of the resident .... Under the perpetual guidance of their residents, assistant residents, &c., a large portion of the administration of the country is carried on by the native functionaries; of these, the highest is the ‘regent’, whose rank and right of procedure is superior even to that of all European officials below the resident. .. By the European officials also he is treated with full respect and consideration.”#

Now mark the wide contrast. The Dutch, like the Mogul conquerors of India, have invited the natives of Java to a share in the affairs of their land; the latter, in fact, hold almost all the important posts. And what do we find in British India? The children of the soil practically reduced to the condition of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Java is prosperous, India is poverty-stricken. Java is contented; of India we wish we could say the same. (See Chapter on Finance).

During the present century there have sprung up in every part of India in connection with the Native States, financiers, administrators, and statesmen, one and all of whom would have done honour to any country in Europe. Conspicuous amongst these stand the names of Poornea and Runga Charlu (Mysore), Shasia Shastri (Paduacotta), Sir Salar Jung (Hydrabad), “as distinctly a statesmen as Lawrence or Dalhousie;” Sir T. Madhava Rao (Travancore and Baroda), Sir Dinkar Rao (Gawalior), Kripa Ram (Jamu), Pandit

No outlet for native aspirations in British India; hence it has been niggardly ill the producton of statesmen: this illustrated

\* Sir D. Wedderburn. “Fortnightly Review.” 1878.

# “Ency Brit,” 9th edition: article. “Java.”



Manpul (Alwur), Faiz Ali Khan (Kotah), and last, but not least, Madho Rao Barne of (Kolapur). How is it that in British India proper we scarcely find any such names? The reason is not far to seek. The numerous Native States, with the little vestige of power which they have been allowed to retain, afford ample scope for the display of administrative abilities; whereas in our dominions native talents are kept confined within narrow and circumscribed limits.\*

Once more we are tempted to quote the precious words of Munro :-

Sir Thomas  
Munro on  
the  
degradation  
and  
debasement  
of the  
people of  
India under  
British rule.

“The main evil of our system is the degraded state in which we hold the natives ... We exclude them from every situation of trust and emolument; we confine them to the lowest offices, with scarcely a bare subsistence; and even these are left in their hands from necessity, because Europeans are utterly incapable of filling them. We treat them as an inferior race of beings. Men who, under a native government, might have held the highest offices of the state; who, but for us might have been governors of provinces; are regarded as little better than menial servants ... We reduce them to this abject state, and then look down upon them with disdain, as men unworthy of high station.”

Is the effect, then, of our boasted laws to be ultimately merely that of maintaining tranquility, and keeping the inhabitants in such a state of debasement that not one of them shall ever be fit to be entrusted with authority? If ever it was the object ‘of the most anxious solicitude of the Government to dispense with their services except in matters of detail,’ it is high time that a policy so degrading to our subjects, and so dangerous to ourselves, should be abandoned, and a more liberal one adopted. It is the policy of the British Government to improve the character of its subjects, and this cannot be better done than by raising them in their own estimation, by employing them in situations both of trust and authority.”\*

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\* Appreciative portraiture of some of these eminent characters are given in Temple’s *Men and Events of my Time*.”

Alas ! Munro is now forgotten, and his generous and catholic sentiments have for more than seventy years remained buried in oblivion.

For more than a century and a quarter British rule has been established in India, but British statesmanship has, as yet, not been able to devise any other policy of holding the vast dependency than that based on “terror” and “brute force.”# As Mr. Leslie Stephen says: The sword policy.

If our empire is not to be founded on simple terror and brute force, some plan must be found of giving a larger share in the administration to qualified natives and enlisting their goodwill by providing them with a career.-“Life of Fawcett,” p.346.

We shall conclude this chapter with Cobden’s Solemn warning.-

“To confess the truth, I have no heart for discussing any of the details of Indian management. For I look on our rule there as a whole with an eye of despair. Whether you put a screen before your eyes and call it a local army, or whether you bring the management face to face in London, the fact is still the same. The English people in Parliament have undertaken to be responsible for governing 150 millions of people despotically, in India. They have adopted the principle of a military despotism, and I have no faith in such an undertaking being anything but a calamity and a curse to the people of England.-Morley’s “Life of Cobden,” vol. pp. 360-1.

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\* Gleig’s “Life of Munro.” vol. ii. (Appendix), pp. 258-9. Edition of 1830.

# England’s policy towards India is thus put in a nut-shell by the “Times” in its issue of Feb. 1, 1886. “The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights ... But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed.” These words might well be put into the mouth of a Tamerlane or a Tchenghis Khan.



**APPENDIX**  
**BEING**  
**AN APPEAL**  
**TO**  
**SIR HENRY E. ROSCOE, M.P.,F.R.S.**  
**THE POVERTY OF INDIA-SOME OF**  
**ITS CAUSES AND REMEDIES.**  
(Partly re-written, see p. 65)

“Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the  
cause of the poor and needy.”-PROVERBS XXXI.,9

Mistaken  
and  
exaggerated  
notions of  
the wealth  
of India.

The “wealth of Ind” has, from a very early period, exercised the imagination of the poet and the adventurer alike. The Grand Mogul, with his “inestimable wealth,” is an object of admiration to Sir Thomas Roe. Indeed, up to a late date the ministers of England had entertained the not very creditable hope that India would afford relief to the British exchequer. \* But the mystery was cleared up when, in 1773, the “financial embarrassments of the Company became so great that they were obliged to solicit, and they received, a loan from the public of £ 1,400,000” (Mill). The poverty of India lies chiefly in the fact that she has to depend on agriculture, and agriculture alone. In European countries there are always important centres of industry and manufacture. Of late years there has been in England a stream of migration from the country to the town. Unfortunately, in India any distinction between

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\* From the year 1767 till the year 1773 the East India Company was bound to pay to the public the sum of £ 400,000 yearly “in respect of the territorial acquisition and revenues obtained in the East Indies.”-Mill’s History of India,” vol. iv .. p.369.

the rural and urban population scarcely exists. We may take it for granted, that about 70 percent of the population have to derive their subsistence from the cultivation of the soil. Sir James Caird has quoted some very interesting figures from the statistics furnished by the American Department of Agriculture, which throws clear light on the subject. \* The mills of Lancashire have well-nigh supplanted the handlooms of the Indian weaver. The weaving classes, which have from time immemorial formed the largest proportion of the industrial population, have now been obliged to take to the plough. # This, and similar instances which might be cited, explain the extremely low wages of the agricultural labourer-and he is practically the only labourer in India. When Fawcett says, "the mass of the Indian people are so poor, often earning wages of only 3d. or 4d. per day," ## he has probably East Bengal in view. In Behar, Oude, the North-West Provinces, and in the greater portion of the Deccan, the daily wages of the labourer will not exceed 1½d. + Although we so often hear complaints about the depression of trade in

An in-quiry  
into some of  
the causes  
of the  
poverty of  
India.

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\* Sir Jame's object is to controvert the theories of the upholders of "petite-culture." e.g., Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Barham Zincke.

The States (of America) are divided into four classes: the 1st with 18 per cent of the people employed in agriculture: the 2nd with 22 per cent.,: the 3rd with 58 per cent, : the 4th with 77 per cent.

Value of Land per acre in the 1st	£ 7146
Monthly wages of agricultural labour	£ 500
In the 4th Class the corresponding sums dwindle down to....	£ 100
And.....	£ 2130

—The "Times," Feb. 2, 1885.

# "There is no class which our rule has pressed harder upon than the native weaver and artisan."-Sir James Caird: "India: the Land-the People."

## "Pol. Econ.," p. 39.

+ "If paid in cash, he (the agricultural labourer) gets from one anna to one anna a six pie (1½ d.) per diem ... Thus the tendency, and to some extent the actual effect, of our rule on the agricultural labourer has been to reduce to a still lower pitch his



this country, Prof. Leoni Levi, Mr. Giffen, and other eminent statisticians, maintain that the wagewinners were never better off.

Great confusion often results from a comparison of the economic condition of America with that of India. America has an illimitable supply of virgin soil, whilst the soil of India in many parts already shows signs of exhaustion. America is sparsely populated, while India—by which we mean the fertile provinces of India—is most densely peopled, being comparable to Belgium alone in this respect. Nothing could be more desirable than that India should export wheat; but is she in a position to spare surplus food? In that huge continent, when we have plenty in one part there is scarcity in another. According to Dr Hunter, 40,000,000 of souls live in India in a chronic state of semi-starvation. The wheat trade of India is in fact maintained by means of artificial stimulants. Indeed, too much importance cannot be attached to Mr Connors warning:

“The profits (to the Indian grower), if any, go to the Indian middleman, owing to the difference between the buying and selling price, or to the Indian Government in taxes and rents. And it must be remembered that, owing to the systems and state loans and guarantees for railways, there is a serious set-off against any profit to the Indian growers by reason of the interest-charges which he has had to pay in the past, to the amount of many millions, for all the wheat lines ... For India as a whole, it is better to store its corn crops, or distribute them in India, than to be encouraged by bounties to export them ... Is it fair to the Indian townsman to raise prices, is it fair to the English farmer to lower them, by this disguised system of protection?—“The Indian Wheat Trade.” A. K. Connel.—The “Times,” Feb. 19, 1885.

How to create an industrial population in India is the problem of problems—it is her “life problem.” Every

well-wisher of India cannot too soon direct his attention to the attainment of this end.

“In the early history of nations says Sir Lyon Playfair, “the possession of raw materials or of local advantages determined their industries. Calicut for a time had an advantage over the rest of the world on account of her indigenous cotton ... But in process of time the cotton manufacture migrated from Hindustan, .. and settled in this country, far distant as it is from the source of the raw material. Why was this? Because gradually, though certainly, the value of the raw material, as a factor in industry, became less and ‘less, while the value of the second factor-the skill and intelligence applied to it- became greater and greater,”\*

If India is to rise once more in the scale of nations; if her teeming millions are not to drop down dead like so many locusts after a single season’s drought, she must adopt the tactics of the European nations. The inhabitants of Bombay have alone realised this fact. The cultivation of cotton, which received a great stimulus during the civil war of America, induced the merchants of Bombay to start mills on their own account. With laudable zeal and perseverance they have at length obtained a footing, and a time may come, though at no near future, when Bombay will become the Manchester of the East. It is to be regretted that the moneyed classes and the wealthy zemindars of Bengal have not hitherto seen their way to any other profitable investment of their capital than in Government paper. The landholders of Bengal, of whose intelligence and public spirit we hear so much, seem to be worthless class. It is true they have always played a prominent part in furthering the cause of education. But their patriotism stops at this point. Sunk in sloth and lethargy and indolence, they are unable to perceive that a little effort on their part would have been sufficient to compel Manchester to seek her fortunes elsewhere (e. g., the

Some of the remedies, proposed e.g., revival of old and starting, up of new industries on the improved European model.

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\* “Primary and Technical Education.” By Lyon Playfair, C. B. M.P. 1870. Page 32.



regions indicated by Mr Stanley). If they could have emulated the merchants of Bombay, not only would a higher dividend have been realized on their capital, but they would have been instrumental in giving employment to hundreds of thousands of their starving countrymen.\*

The rapid development of industry in modern days depends on the application of scientific knowledge.- Sir Lyon Playfair.\*\*

The advanced state of modern Europe; her monopoly of almost all important manufactures; her superiority in commerce-all these are due to the fact that she has laid scientific knowledge under ample contribution. The reason why the British farmer still holds his own against his American rival, is that in devising the ingredients of his manures he has employed the services of the chemist. # When the ports of foreign countries were closed against France during the Napoleonic wars, the importation of sugar was suspended. She was thus met with a great difficulty; but the issue was the discovery of a new method for the manufacture of sugar. Beetroot was made to yield what was formerly extracted from sugar-cane.## Again, the utilization of the waste products in the manufacture of beetroot sugar-not excepting chloride of methyl, recently so successfully used as a refrigerato-affords

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\* M. Fontpertuis ("Journal des Economistes," Feb. 1875) very well remarks :- Jusqu'ici les hautes classes, au Bengal du moins, hésitent à prêter leur concours financier aux entreprises nouvelles. Les Zéminars, qui forment une partie de la population très-nombreuse continuent de vivre en paresseux de leurs rentes foncières, fidèles encore à des errements qui repoussent toutes progrès et toute innovation.

\*\* Presidential Address, Aberdeen.

# "Our most serious competitors are those who cultivate very imperfectly large areas of rich and almost virgin soil. In fact, it is area and cheap fertility, not good cultivation, against which we have chiefly to contend. "-Dr. Gilbert, quoted by Sir. J. B. Lawes. (Vide the "Times," 5th Aug. 1885.)

## The Industry which has thus sprung up now threatens the prosperity of a Crown Colony.

one of the most striking examples of what science can achieve. Artificial indigo has, of late years, been prepared on a large scale, and it is probably a question of time to make it a commercial success. The fate of an important industry in Behar is thus trembling in the balance. The Government of India is simply committing suicide by shutting its eyes to what is going on in the world of progress.

We regret that the exigencies of the limited space at our disposal compel us to dwell as briefly as possible upon the only branch of our studies with which we are a little at home. We hope, however, we have sufficiently indicated the paramount importance of—



## SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

Dans les temps modernes la prosperite de l'industrie est solidaire de progres de toutes les sciences. Les peuples qui les laissent dechoir se vient bientot totalement appauvris, quelles que soient les richesses de leur sol.—DR. A. GLUGE, rector (1869), Universite' Libre de Bruxelles.

A great many young Hindus have been taught Milton, and made proficient in literature, which they will never appreciate, but few have learnt the practical science for which their genius so eminently fits them. -George (now Sir George) Campbell, 1853.

It is greatly to be regretted that so little has been done as yet in India for technical instruction. ·SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (1880).

We shall here briefly enumerate some industries which ought to be flourishing if due attention is paid to them.

About 80 per cent, of the people of India depend upon fish as their only item of animal food. The fisherman's craft is carried on in the most primitive fashion. For want of adequate knowledge on the subject, wholesale destruction of fish has been going on for some time, and its effect is beginning to be felt. \* Guided by their natural instinct, the fishermen undertake journeys of days, and even weeks, in order to collect the fertilized ova. If hatcheries could be established, under scientific management, a very important industry might spring up. "The gross estimated value of the fisheries of Scotland (1884) amounted to over £ 3,350,000, and the number of persons employed in the fishing industry was 103,804"# (the "Times"). In a country like India, which

Attention  
must be  
paid to

Pisci-  
culture.

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\*"The breeding fish are caught and destroyed in every conceivable manner," & C-HUNTER's "Statistical Account of Bengal," last vol. Dr. Day has really rendered a valuable service by drawing attention to this subject.

# Prof. Ewart has very well said that every seventh man in Scotland is directly or indirectly dependent on the fishing industry for his maintenance.

is so much subject to periodic visitations of famine, the importance of pisciculture can scarcely be overstated.

It is scarcely too much to say, that silk-growing has largely to do with the foundation of the Indian Empire. This industry has practically remained confined to certain favoured districts of Bengal-Rajsahi, Moorshedabad, &c. Of late years some enterprising Italian experts as well as Sir John Birdwood, have tried to introduce it into other parts of India ; but their efforts have not been successful in any case. If silkworms can be acclimatised in Italy and France, we do not see any reason why they should not take kindly to the climates of Madras and Bombay.

and seri-culture:

hence the study of biological sciences ought to be promoted.

The way in which the salt manufacture of Oude and Bengal has been crushed out of being is at once a disgrace and a scandal to the Indian Government. Mr. Irwin, whose commiseration for the poor of Oude has led him to break through official reserve, says :-

The salt-making industries of Oude

“The three principal industries under native rule were cotton-weaving, salt-making, and spirit-distilling. Of these, the first has been crippled by Manchester competition ; the second has been annihilated, so far as legislation can annihilate it, and the occupation of a numerous caste destroyed. The salt manufacture having been crushed, £ 400,000 worth of salt is imported annually.-“The Garden of India,” p.30.

Sir R. Temple says :-

All these tracts (Malabar and Coromandel coasts, are still made to yield salt, except the delta of the Ganges and the upper parts of the Bay of Bengal. *In these excepted tracts, the manufacture of the salt, once so extensive, has been suppressed*, in order that an import duty might be levied on the salt imported from England.-“India in 1880,” p.237.

and Bengal cannot be revived one moment too soon.

Thus, bread has been taken out of the mouths of hundreds of thousands. What fate would the English Chancellor of the Exchequer share if he were to stamp



whisky manufactures out of Scotland and Ireland in his anxiety to prevent illicit distillation? The Cheshire labourer can make his voice heard, but the groans of the poverty-stricken millions of India do not reach these shores !\*

Bengal  
saltpetre.

On the Continent, nitre is artificially manufactured by a process known as “nitrification,” whereas in Bengal nature has come forward to do the work herself. If a slight technical knowledge were brought to bear upon it, saltpetre might become one of the most important articles of export.#

The Govern-  
ment of  
India has  
not as yet  
realized the  
importance  
of  
promoting  
scientific

As regards scientific education, next to nothing has hitherto been attempted in India. Science, no doubt, figures in the curriculum of studies prescribed in the universities. We ourselves studied it in one of the best State colleges of which India can boast. We have consulted our friends who hail from different presidencies. But everyone of them has the same sad story to tell. Laboratories are as hand-maids to lecturerooms ; without their aid, teaching of science is reduced to a mimicry. Mere book-lore in science only gives a sort of dilettante knowledge.## The Government of India, however, cannot afford to spend money in the equipments of State colleges with laboratories. Exclusive devotion to classics and metaphysics from time immemorial has produced a baneful effect on the Hindu: unfortunately, these chiefly engage his attention even at

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\* So early as 1833 we find Mr Wilbroham moving a “clause prohibiting the exclusive manufacture and sale of salt by the Government of India, the object of which motion was to secure a new market for the salt of Cheshire, “-W 11 . .80 N’S continuation of MILL, vols. ix, X., p. 381.

We beg it to be distinctly understood that we are free-traders to the backbone.

# Palmer, “Journ. Chern. Soc.”vol. xxi., p.318; Roscoe and Schorlemmer’s “Inorg. Chern”. VOL ii. pp77-8

## In order to be a graduate in Physical or Natural Science, it is not necessary to handle a test tube, or a galvanometer, or a scalpel, or a microscope.

the present day. Japan, with a revenue of twelve million sterling-and it must be remembered she is really menaced by Russia-has planted excellent laboratories;\* she has comprehended how "Pasteur has brought back wealth to ruined countries";# she has realized that it is not mere "thews and sinews," not mere brute force, that will henceforth decide the fate of nations. While Japan is moving onwards in the path of progress, unhappy India is lagging behind. "Our soldiers' barracks are the finest in the world" (see p. 68). In that single sentence is probably concentrated the essence-the quintessence-of the wisdom of our rulers. A government which can squander £ 10,000,000 on "palatial" barracks, but which cannot spare a farthing for laboratories, should forfeit the title of a civilized government.##

The engineering colleges of Roorki, Poona, Calcutta, &c., certainly impart teaching in bread-and-butter sciences ; but then they are called "colleges" by way of eminence. They are merely secondary schools. An efficient engineering institution- the Cooper's Hill College- is maintained in this country at the cost of the Indian tax-payer (p. 68), so that sons of respectable and well-to-do English gentlemen might get a cheap education, to be hereafter provided with comfortable posts in India : of course the ostensible plea is that India is primarily benefited by this arrangement. If a first-

\* "Note on Methyline Chloride, "by J. Sakauri, Prof. of Chemistry, Univ. of Tokio.-"Chem. Soc. Journal, "April, 1885. Ed. Divers. M.D. and Tetsukicehi Schemidezu, M.E. Japanese College of Engineering, Tokio.-IBID, April.

B.B.Oishi, "Journ. So. Chern. Industry.," June 1884. Divers and Schimose, "Ber, Deut. Gesellschaft, "vol. xvii., 1884.

# "Louis Pasteur; his Life and Labours.-Translated from the French by Lady Claud Hamilton p. 162.

## "The motto of our rulers seems to be this : Unsere Narrheiten (e.g., palatial barracks and bloated armaments), bezahlen wir gar gerne selbst ; zu unsern Tugenden (e.g. primary and technical education, &c.), sollen Andere (the famished peasants) das Geld hergeben."



class engineering college were established in India, not only as able and skilful engineers could be secured at a lower pay, but hundreds of Indian students might have got such a training as would have enabled them to seek an independent livelihood.\* Ah! Fawcett is dead.

Lord Ripon, himself a patron of one of the best colleges of science in this country, was fully alive to the importance of scientific education in India. The recommendation of his Education Commission would, if carried out, leave very little to be desired. But as long as the military expenditure of India will have the “melancholy distinction” of being perhaps the highest in the world, so long every work of public utility is destined to be starved (see pp. 52-4)

and technical education.

Mr. Irwin, who has studied the economic condition of the peasantry of Oude with care and diligence, observes :-

“Agriculture is of course very much the most important business of India, and will probably always continue so to be. But there still survives, though, thanks to the competition of English machinery and capital, in a sadly blighted and frost - bitten condition, a germ of manufacturing industry, which may, some day, develop into something more significant than its present appearance would seem to indicate. And towards this also we have a duty to fulfil. Manufacturing industry is in grievous need of development and instruction. -”*The Garden of India.*” p.398.

He then mentions certain “articles for the

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\* While looking over the proof-sheets we read(“Nature,” March 1886) that the “graduates of the (Tokio Engineering) College are found doing useful work in every part of the empire; and so high is the esteem in which they are held, that to have been educated there is a certain passport to employment. It possesses the handsomest buildings and the most perfectly equipped laboratories and museums of any educational institution in Japan.” But the Secretary for India is for obvious reasons, averse to establishing an efficient engineering college in India. What a shame. !

production of which Oude possesses special facilities," e.g., paper, glass, leather. In the name of "pax Romana," the famished ryot is ground down by a taxation which leaves him no margin for subsistence ; in the name of "scientific" legislation and "humane" codification, he is made to pay somewhere between two and three millions sterling in the shape of stamp duty; but when you approach the humane and paternal government in his name, you are confronted with the fatal "finality clause," or at best treated to a sermon on "laissez faire."

"The total contribution of Oude to the imperial treasury, after defraying the cost of the garrison (£ 350,000) and all local charges, is but little short of a million and a half sterling, and it is obvious how severe must be the drain of such an outflow on the resources of a poor and overcrowded country. Depletion may sometimes be a salutary process, but if carried too far, it is apt to result in death from inanition, and in any case the balance of opinion is not in favour of trying it upon a starving patient.\*-MR IRWIN.

The Indian Government essentially a taxsqueezing machinery and not a government for the people.

All honour is due to Mr. Irwin for his courageous outspokenness.

The worst fears of Henry Lawrence have been realized. # The grovelling condition of the peasant of Oude does not attract the attention of the Indian government. Nothing is done to improve his lot. He suffers in silence and dies; while one million and a half, squeezed out of destitution and starvation, finds its way to Calcutta and thence to London. Our blood is chilled; we are full of the gloomiest despair as regards the future of India when we think of the manner in which her enormous revenue is spent. ##

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Since the above was sent to the press, Prof.

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\*These remarks apply mutatis mutandis to other provinces as well.

# See p. 52. The reader will now understand why we were tempted to discuss the case of Oude in rather disproportionate detail.

## The chapter which is assigned in treatises on Political Economy, to "National Education as a Remedy for Low Wages," has not yet commended itself to the attention of our beneficent rulers.

The question-the great question-which ought to occupy the rulers



Guthrie, in accounting for the backwardness of education in India, arrives at a conclusion which will be found identical with our own: Glancing at the place given to the subject (science-teaching) in educational systems abroad, he (Prof. F. Guthrie) stated that the slow progress which education makes in India was not due to the apathy of the native races, but to the infatuation of those who could not or would not see that there was anything beyond the limited horizon which circumscribed their own education. To our literature and sports the Oriental must always remain a stranger; but in railways, canals, and irrigation works, and to the sciences which lead to them, he took a far keener interest. Japan had shewn a most wonderful instance of development; it had taken its science at once and as a whole, for it had found in science the one universal language, the language of nature herself. “-vide the “Times,” Feb. 17, 1886.

In answer to a question put by Mr. Jacoby, Sir Playfair (March 2) quoted the following extract from the Report on the Royal Commission on Technical Education, p. 515 : “In the United Kingdom one-half of the cost of elementary education is defrayed out of the imperial funds, and the instruction of artisans in science and art is entirely borne by the state.” The Indian government, however, does not, as it seems to us, consider itself to be under any such obligations to the people whose welfare is said to be its sole study. Out of a revenue of about 72 millions sterling, it spends one-ninetieth (see pp.73-4) on educational purposes,

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of India is tills: how to provide her gradually, but completely with a system of popular instruction without increasing':and this is a consideration of which I am afraid we are inclined to lose sight-without increasng the pressureI' of our yoke upon her, Wlthout laying upan her buren taxation greater than she can bear. The problem is a difficult one but if can it must, and it will be solved. “-LORD HOBART: Life. “ L,P 16i.

and washes its hands clean of the responsibility in the matter. That this should be the case is quite natural. On one occasion Mr. Bright observed from his place in the House of Commons :-

“Let hon. Gentlemen imagine a government like that in India, over which the payers of the taxes have not the slightest control; for the great body of the people in India have, as we all know, no control in anyway over the government. Neither is there any independent English opinion that has any control over the government, the only opinions being those of the government itself, or those of the Military and Civil Services, and chiefly of the latter. They are not the payers of the taxes; they are the spenders and the enjoyers of the taxes, and therefore the government is in the most unfortunate position possible for the fulfilment of the great duties that must develop upon every wise and just government. The civil service, being privileged, is arrogant, and I had almost said tyrannous, ..... and the military service, which, as everywhere else where it is not checked by the resolution of the tax-payers and civilians, is clamorous and insatiable for greater expenditure.”

Lord Mayo has also recorded exactly the same opinion. We must stop here.

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Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, one of the great pioneers of scientific research in modern India, is considered Father of Indian Chemistry. He was an indefatigable patriot with a saintly self-less character. As a young under-graduate student of Edinburgh University in 1885, Ray sent his essay *India: Before and After the Mutiny* for a competition organised by the University. Though considered the best entry, the essay was not awarded for obvious reasons.. Ray got it published as a book in 1886 and sent a copy to British parliamentarian John Bright. Mr. Bright was amazed at the political knowledge and sharp argument of the Indian student.

This famous essay was first republished by Rammohun Library & Free Reading Room, Kolkata in 1994, as a tribute on the 50th death Anniversary of Acharya P.C. Ray. Publications Division is reprinting this work of deep historical insight and significance.

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